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THE
LIFE, TIMES AND WRITINGS
OF
THOMAS FULLER, D.D.,

THE CHURCH HISTORIAN (1608-1661).

BY THE
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THE LIFE, TIMES AND WRITINGS
OF
THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

FULLER'S "ABEL REDEVIVUS." (1651.)

"Nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa !

Laudat posteritas, nunc non e manibus illis.

Nunc non e tumulo fortunaque favilla

Nascuntur viola." —*Persius Satir III.*

E now come to consider another of Fuller's most interesting works, and in a department of literature in which he was most happy, if not facile princeps, that of biography. It was called by a Latin name, "Abel Redevivus" (being dead he yet speaketh), but who was responsible for this Latin title is by no means clear. Fuller was one of the principal contributors to this work, which was published by John Stafford, dwelling in St. Bride's Churchyard, near Fleet, 1651. The full title (we quote from the original edition which lies before us), is "Abel Redevivus, or the Dead yet Speaking, the lives and deaths of the Moderne Divines. Written by several able and learned men (whose names ye shall find in the Epistle to the Reader), and now digested into one volume for the benefit and satisfaction of all those that desire to be acquainted with the paths of *Piety* and *Virtue*." The text on

the title-page is Prov. x. 7 : “The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot.” There are two frontispieces—one that of a Tomb with a skeleton enclosed, bearing the inscription, *Mors ultima linea rerum est*, and underneath a quotation from the Satires of Persius. The other frontispiece is a copy of the original portrait of our author, “the learned and godly Divine and judicious historian, Mr. Tho. Fuller, Ba. of Di (vinity).” The portrait is one of learned gravity, but one can detect the latent presence of quaintness, and undertone of a scintillating wit, ready to sparkle out into potential brilliancy. The posture of the figure, which is draped in cassock, cincture, and Priest’s cloak or academic gown, is easy, one hand being laid on a book on the table, on which there are also an inkhorn, pen and paper, ready for the lucubrations of the pen of the ready writer. The portrait certainly gives us a good idea of the becoming attire of the clergy of that day. It is every inch that of an Ecclesiastic, and quite in keeping with the clerical costumes of the period—and as a distinctive dress must have marked out the Divine—grave and reverent. The cloak or gown is thrown over a close-buttoned jerkin, which is tied round the waist by a sash or girdle, and is surmounted by a large collar round the neck. There seems to be some doubt as to the likeness. But there are features in our author’s face recognisable, and there is the long curled hair, the moustache, and slight tufted beard, which obtain in other portraits, yet there is too much stiffness in the figure. The features are perhaps too attenuated, and the nose too much hooked in the plate, for we conceive the face of the original to have been rounder, and less pointed and austere than portrayed. Still there are decided traces of

humour about the mouth. The plate, which is unsigned, some attributing it to Vaughan and others to Cross, belonged to John Stafford, who doubtless sold many copies to the admirers of our popular Divine to his parishioners at St. Bride's.

Fuller wrote the Epistle to the Reader and seven of the lives, viz., Berengarius, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Cranmer, Fox (the martyrologist, and a parishioner of Waltham Abbey), Perkins and Junius, "My meannesse wrote all these lives," he says. Some have been under a wrong impression that this was the first biographical volume published in the English language, and that Fuller wrote all the lives, but this was not the case. No doubt the connection of Fuller's name and the estimation in which he was held at Waltham had much to do towards securing the great popularity of this volume, which would appear to have been a venture on the part of John Stafford (already alluded to), the stationer and publisher. It certainly became a great favourite in its day, and its costliness and the difficulty of now obtaining an original copy, prove the estimation in which it is still held.

The Epistle to the Reader begins in Fuller's quaint and characteristic style. "Such honour" (saith the Psalmist) "have all His saints, His saints emphatically. Divine Providence, foreseeing that in after ages some would usurp the title of *Saintship* to whom it did not belong." After speaking of the two-fold honour given to the saints—that which God and man bestoweth, and of the latter it has to do either with their bodies or their memories; of the former, he instances decent interment illustrated by the cases of Jehojadah and Hezekiah ("whose signall holinesse

was paramount whilst he was living), who had his Tombe the highest of all other kings." Speaking of the honour due to their memories, he says, "This is more certaine, being sometimes paid them very abundantly even from those who formerly were so niggardly and covetous, as not to afford them a good word in their lifetime."

"*Defunctus amabitur idem.*"

"Many are made *converts*," proceeds Fuller, "by the godly ends of good men, as the Centurion himself, who attended and ordered the crucifying of Christ, after His expiring brake forth into that testimony of Him, '*Verily this was the Sonne of God.*' To such as rail at, revile, curse, condemne, persecute, execute pious people, speak other language of them, when such men have passed the *Purgation of Death*, and confesse faithfull and sincere servants of God."

"The last *Honour*," he says, "is *Imitation* of their virtuous example. Providence so ordereth it that out of the ashes of dead saints many living ones doe spring and sprout, by following the pious precedents of such godly persons deceased. This was a maine motive of publishing the ensuing treatise, to furnish our present age with a magazeen of religious Patterns for their imitation.

"There is a monument in Palestine which at Modinum was erected for the Maccabees, consisting of seven Pedestals and on them as many Pyramids, under the bottoms whereof their bodies lye buried, whilst their tops serve (even at this day) for Seamarks to direct mariners sailing in the Mediterranean towards the haven of Joppa in the Holy Land. Not unlike whereunto, for the use and service

thereof, is the following Discourse, made partly to doe right to the memory of these heroes, deceased, and partly to guide and conduct us to arrive at the same happinesse, by steering our course according to the purity of their lives, and constancy of their deaths."

"Here may we finde," continues our author, "many excellent Preachers who first reformed themselves, that their Doctrine might take the better effect on others. For as one who would most mannerly intimate to another any spot or foulenesse in his face, doth wipe his own face in the same place, that so the other beholding him may collect where, and how, to amend anything that is amisse. So these worthy Ministers give others to understand how to rectifie their faults, by exemplary cleansing and clearing their own lives and Conversations."

Even in this liberal and enlightened age, some men are persecuted for conscience sake. It was especially so in Fuller's time, and the orthodox clergy had a hard time of it. "But most remarkable," he adds, "are many *Confessors* (here briefly described) for their constancy in persecution. It was as Hegesippus reports, an observation of *Antonius* the emperor, that the Christians were most courageous and confident alwayes in earthquakes, whilst his own heathen Souldiers were at such accidents most fearfull and dispirited. The same holds true here in many worthy saints, in such concussions and commotions of Church and State, wherein all was almost turned upside-downe, they acquitted themselves most fearless and valiant, still preferring a good conscience : a grace very worthy of our imitation, especially in this Age, when the very *Foundacions* are shaken and most at a losse how to behave themselves. God grant when men

are at *their wits' end* they may be at the beginning of their *faith*, valiantly to hold out in the Truth."

"So much for the occasion and matter of this work. As for the Makers thereof, they are many ; some done by Doctor *Featley* now at rest with God, viz., the lives of *Jewell, Reynolds, Abbot*, and diverse others; some by that reverend and learned divine, Master *Gataker*; viz., the lives of *Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, Parker*, and others. Doctor *Willet's* life by Doctor *Smith*, his son in law ; *Erasmus*, his life by the Reverend Bishop of Kilmore. The life of Bishop *Andrewes* by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend Master *Isaacson*, and my meanness wrote all the lives of *Berengarius, Huss, Hierom* of Prague, Archbishop *Cranmer*, Master *Fox, Perkins, Junius*, &c. Save the most part of the poetry was done by Master *Quarles*, father and son, sufficiently well known for their abilities therein. The rest the stationer (*i.e.* John Stafford) got transcribed out of Mr. *Holland* and other authors."

The concluding remarks may be considered apropos of other epochs besides Fuller's :

"What remaines but to condole the sad condition of our dayes, comming short of the former age, and daily waining ? thinnesse in eminent Divines, caused from our present distractions." And after alluding to the drying up of Jordan (Josh. iii. 16), he says, "I feare whilst the stremme of a new supply from the Fountaines of Learning and Religion in this Kingdome is much disturbed and partly obstructed in these tumultuous times, and whilst the present generation of eminent Divines maketh haste to their graves, able Ministers will almost be drayned dry in the Kingdom. The rather because as the arrow mortally wounded *Ahab betwixt the*

joynts of his armour, so in the interstitium between two *Disciplines* (and give me leave to tearme Discipline the Armour of the Church), *Episcopacy* put off, and another Government not as yet close buckled on, *Prophanenesse* and *Licentiousnesse* have given a great and grievous wound to the Church of God, for the speedy cure whereof joyn thy prayers with his, who is thy servant in any Christian office. --THO. FULLER." No date is given, but the place of writing, "Waltham Abbey."

A very brief notice must suffice for the other writers in this interesting compilation. Dr. Featly was beneficed in London, and died in the Prison College at Chelsea, 1645, and had been Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. Antony Wood says of him that he was considered "one of the most resolute and victorious champions of the Reformed Protestant Religion of his time, a most smart scourge of the Church of Rome, a compendium of the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and sciences; also that though he was of small stature, yet he had a great soul, and had all learning compacted in him."

Fuller also says that he was a perfect master in his own learning.

"Master Gataker" was a profound scholar, whose house was the resort of even European celebrities. He was well known to Fuller, and says of himself, that he "maintained a good correspondence and some inward familiarity with the moderate sort on either side, especially those who disliked those innovations that in the latter times began to creep in." He seems to have favoured a Presbyterianized Episcopacy.

Fuller's "worthy friend," Henry Isaacson, had been the

companion and amanuensis of the great Bishop Andrewes, and was the author of the Chronological Tables published in 1633, being, as Fuller observes, a most successful imitator of the great Bishop's style. He was proud of being a Londoner, a prefix he puts to his name on the title page of his book. His biographer, the Rev. Stephen Isaacson, who republished his "Life of Andrewes" from the "Abel Redevivus" and other tracts, says, among those who addressed complimentary verses to him, "will be found Matthew Wren, the celebrated Bishop of Ely, T. Fuller, the famous church historian, R. Crashaw, the poet, but Fuller's stanzas have not been verified."

Touching Francis Quarles, who was an Essex man, dying 1644, our author avers that he was an excellent poet and a mind biassed to devotion. "Had he been contemporary with Plato—that great back-friend to poets—he would not only have allowed him to live, but advanced him to an office in his Commonwealth. His visible poems (I mean his emblems) are excellent, catching therein the eye and fancy at one draught, so that he hath out-Alciated Alciat therein, in some men's judgment." ("Worthies, Essex," 334.) Until the Rebellion he had been secretary to Archbishop Ussher, and having lost his papers, fled to Oxford, where he wrote in defence of the Royal cause and the King. His son John Quarles was also an Essex man, and an ardent Royalist, serving the King's cause zealously as captain in the Royal army. He wrote an elegy to Ussher, to whom he was indebted for his education :

"Let him sweetly take
A full repose, he hath been long awake :
Tyr'd with the toyle of a most tedious day,
He sought refreshment : seeking, found the way.

The way to heaven, and being merry-hearted,
Shook hands with flesh and blood, and so departed."

He also wrote a verse on Antioch for Fuller's sermons, 1637, and died of the plague, 1665.

Fuller refers to Holland's contributions from his *Heroologia Anglicana*, published in 1620, and a large portion of the lives of the *foreign* Divines were translated in an abridged form from Melchior Adams' *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum*.

Our author contributed (besides the Epistle), as we have observed, seven of the lives, which are indeed distinguishable (apart from his confession of authorship) by his usual oddities, turns of thought, and large-hearted views of character. "Few biographers," as a writer well says of him, "have ever touched the chief points of a good man's career with a more graceful and instructive pen; while it seems to have been almost impossible for him to restrain the wit and humour, and the faculty of apt illustration, with which he was so happily gifted." The first life in this work, which has been illustrated by forty-three engraved heads, or portraits, is that of *Berengarius*, an admirable piece of reading, and the tender treatment of the faults of this divine generates somehow an affection for the writer. It appears that one portion of it has been transferred to modern verse by one of his great admirers, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, one of the Lake poets, and author of some of the greatest philosophic utterances of our day, "Aids to Reflection," "Lay Sermons," "Table Talk," &c. Dr. Fuller is palliating the conduct of Berengarius by reference to the times: "This I dare bouldly affirme, that if the morning grow so proud as to scorne the dawning of the day, because mixed with darknesse, midday

will avenge her quarrell, and may justly take occasion to conteme the morning, as in lustre inferiour to herselfe."

"This passage," wrote one in an original edition of "Abel Redevivus," Coleridge has appropriated, without acknowledgment, in his "Lines suggested by the last words of Berengarius." These are the lines:—

"The ascending day-star with a bolder eye,
Hath lit each dew-drop on our trimmer lawn !
Yet, not for this, if wise, shall we decry,
The spots and struggles of the timid dawn,
Lest so, we tempt th' approaching noon to scorn
The mists and painted vapours of our morn."

—(Vol. ii., p. 20, *Aldine Edition.*)

In this excellent treatise we notice that our author held the true Catholic view of the Holy Eucharist, as distinguished from the carnal or corporal view of the modern Roman Church on the one hand, or the figurative Zuinglian view of the Nonconformist on the other, and grasped the old Catholic view of the real, spiritual, and sacramental Presence as held by the Primitive Church—the true doctrine of the Church of England, so ably illustrated by the luminous decision of Dr. Phillimore in the (late) Arches Court. "The maine matter wherein he (Berengarius) dissented from the current of the *Roman Church*, and is honoured for a champion of the truth, was in the point of Transubstantiation : an error which crept one of the last into the Church, and was the first that was most vigorously opposed. It took the rise from some extravagant expressions of *Damascene* and *Theophilact*, who, endeavouring to shew the reality of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, scattered such flourishing language to that purpose (flowers though they cannot seed may sometimes infect), that though well intending, yet ill interpreted, gave occasion to their unskilful Readers, who

more minded the words than the matter, from such Rhetorical premises to conclude a Dogmaticall point, of the elements being corporally transubstantiated against the very being and nature of a Sacrament." (P. 3.)

Speaking of his last end, after living some years in obscurity, humbled with a sense of his recantation at the Papal Court, our author says : " Remarkable are his words wherewith he breathed out his last gaspe, which Illyricus reporteth to this effect : *now I am to goe and appeare before God, either to be acquitted by Him as I hope, or condemned by Him as I feare,* which words as they savour not of that full assurance of salvation which God vouchsafeth to many of his servants, so they carry not with them any offensive Breath of Despaire, and it is no contradiction of Christianity to rejoice before God with trembling. And in this Twilight we leave Berengarius to that mercifull God, who knoweth whereof we are made, and remembereth we are but dust." (P. 7.) Then conclude Quarles' lines.

In his life of *Archbishop Cranmer*, our author, as in his "Church History," blames his too great flexibility. So far was his moderation from that party zeal which finds an apology for every defect in the objects of its idolatry. "Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury," says Fuller, "so became the Place with his piety and gravity, that he indeared himself to all conditions of People. This was the greatest fault he was guilty of. That his nature was bad in being too good ; he was of too easie and flexible a disposition, which made him cowardly to comply with the Church of *Rome*. For although he never did any harme to the Protestants, yet he did not unto them so much good as he might and ought. Some may conceive

this passage might well be omitted, but the truth of our love to this good man's memory must not make us forget our love to Truth: besides, this recording of such slips doth read to us in him a Lecture of our own infirmities, if God's grace be not more active in our hearts. Oh! there is more required to make us valiant, than barely be able to call another Coward." (P. 227.)

Speaking of Cranmer's suggestion to the King about Queen Katherine's divorce, "a better woman than wife, more pious in her beades than pleasant in her bed," our author says, "Here I have no leisure to, much less faith to believe those false aspersions which Dr. Sanders casteth on this reverend Prelate, bottoming the beginning of his Court Advancement on the basest employments performed by him. Sufficeth it is to know that as the *Herneslaw* when unable by main strength to grapple with the *Hawke* doth *slice* upon her, bespattering the *Hawke's* wings with dung or ordure: so to conquer with her taile what she cannot doe with her bill and beake. So Papists finding themselves unable to encounter the Protestants by force of argument out of the Scriptures, cast the dung of foule language and filthy railing upon them, wherein Sanders exceedeth all of his society. Yea, God may seem to have indicated the innocence of the one and punished the slanderous mouth of the other, in that the foresaid Sanders was afterwards famished in Ireland, that mouth being starved for want of food, it surfeited with superfluity of Falsehood." (P. 226.)

In his life of the martyrologist, *John Fox*, who was Fellow of Maudlin (Magdalene College), Fuller cannot overlook how our Fox was indeed a sheep, and suffered accordingly,

and he puns on his name to his heart's desire. Speaking of the first change of religion under Henry VIII., he says, "Now King Henry had set up a mongrell religion in the land, like the Toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, partly iron and partly clay ; one moity thereof, strong with undeniable truth, the other daubed with untempered mortar ; in the six Popish Articles still retained." (A whip with six thongs as it was called.) "Our young fellow in the colledge sees and sighs at the superstition, and retiring himselfe to a grove, entertaines the time with Solitariness, only the silent midnight was witness to his sobs and groans. He sees what, but not whither to flye, but at last resolves hereafter to absent himselfe from the Romish Church." (P. 378).

Speaking of Fox's well-known Book of Martyrs (which he had begun in exile on the Continent, and completed on his return) Fuller says "For the maine it is a worthy worke (wherein the Reader may rather have than lack) presenting it selfe to Beholders, like *Ætna* always burning, whilst the smoke hath almost put out the eyes of the adverse Party, and these *Foxes* fire-brands have brought much annoyance to the Roman *Philistines*. But it were a miracle if in so voluminous a worke there was nothing to be justly reproved ; so great a Pomgranate not having any rotten kernell must only grow in Paradise. And though perchance he held the beame at the best advantage for the Protestant party to weigh downe, yet generally he is a true writer, and never wilfully deceiveth, though he may sometimes be unwillingly deceived." He received, though much courted, no ecclesiastical preferment. "For although the richest Myter of *England* would have counted it selfe preferred by being placed upon his head, yet he con-

tented himself only with a Prebend of *Salisbury*, pleased with his owne obscurity, whilst others of less desert make greater show." (P. 381.)

"Now how learnedly he worked, how constantly he preacht, how piously he lived, how cheerfully he dyed, may be fetcht from his life at large, prefixed before his Book." One passage therein omitted we must here insert, having received it from witnesses beyond exception. "In the eighty eight when the *Spanish halfe Moone* did hope to rule all the motion in our Seas, Master Fox was privately in his Chamber at Prayers, battering Heaven with his importunity, in behalfe of this sinfull nation. And we may justly presume that his devotion was as actually instrumental to the victory, as the wisdom of our Admirable, valour of his Soldiers, skil and industry of his Seamen. On a sudden coming downe to his family he cryed out "*They are gone, they are gone*, which indeed hapned in the same instant, as by exact computation afterwards did appeare." (P. 382.)

Turn we now to Fuller's life of *William Perkins*, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, in whose memoirs our author gives him his full measure of praise, commending his critical skill and learning in the Fathers, as also his judicious handling of cases of conscience, and the practical nature of his public discourses, made up as well of instruction as of exhortation. Perkins, in his *Problems*, anticipated Birkbeck in his *Protestant Evidence* as both indeed had been anticipated by Flacius Illyricus; all shewing, with Jewel and others, how the Fathers themselves make against the Church of Rome. Bacon had observed of Luther, that, finding the living

marshalled against him, he raised upon his own side a party from the dead, meaning the old Catholic Doctors and Fathers.

Herein again we notice the true ring of the Anglican platform, viz., the appeal of the Reformed Church of England to Scripture, as interpreted by the Fathers of the Primitive Church. Over and over again, both in liturgical forms, articles and homilies (chief of all), she makes this bifurcated appeal to Scripture and Antiquity, as opposed to the private judgment of the Nonconformist, uncontrolled by creeds or authority, and the development theory of the modern Roman Church, as unfolded by Dr. Newman, and duly exposed by Dr. Archer Butler. The Church of England is the reflex of primitive antiquity, and if she be not this, she is nothing; her *raison d'être* ceases, and her claim to be the old historical church falls to the ground. A churchman who has not grasped this point, has no *locus standi*, either against Rome or Geneva. In her preface to the ordinal she says "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Scriptures and ancient authors." She begins her communion service with these words: "Brethren, in the *Primitive* Church there was a godly discipline." Again, concerning the service of the Church, she says "this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers," and much to the same effect. And this was the philosophic foundation of Master Perkins' theological teaching. "Many and most excellent," says Fuller, "are the books which Master Perkins left behind him. His learning appears most in his *Problems*, a difficult taske, no less valiantly performed, than ventuously undertaken, to assert the truth of the Protestant religion, by the *testimony of the Fathers for the first five hundred years*, which

shews that his industry did not only drive a retale trade in modern writers, but that he fetched his learning and brought his wares from the best hands of the *most ancient authors.*" "Herein excellent his judgment, in fanning the Chaffe from the Corn, the true from the forged writings of the Fathers. The ancient Germanes are said to cast their new born children into the river of Rhine, thereby to make an experiment whether they be true born or no, accounting them legitimate if swimming, but concluding themselves wronged by their wives dishonesty, obtruding a bastard issue upon them, if the infant sunk in the water. *Perkins* had neater and more infallible touchstones to discerne the native and genuine, from the spurious and adulterous works of the *Fathers* by the manner of their stile, strength of their matter, time of their writing, censure of other learned men upon them, whereby many Counterfeit Books are not only denied authentick authority, but also justly pillored for cheaters to all posterity. I know it is layed to Perkins his charge, (learned Whitaker is accused for the same fault) that he made all the Fathers *Puritans*; but certainly in one sense they were *Puritans* of themselves without his making; I mean strict in their lives and conversations, and how far he was from wresting their doctrines to the countenancing of any error, be it reported to men of unprejudiced judgment." (P. 436.)

Our author also refers to another important work of his on "Cases of Conscience," a matter which has always been regarded (and with too much justice) as the weak point of the National Church's discipline, although it has been so ably treated by Bishop Sanderson, in his work on *Law and*

Human Conscience, lately edited to supply a felt need by the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth).

“In *Case Divinity* he had an excellent dexterity to State controversies for the satisfaction of tender and doubting consciences : to show what is lawfull and what is unlawfull in mixed actions where good and bad are blended together, wherewith many are deceived, like children following the bones with the flesh to their great danger of choaking. Great was the fan and fire of his discretion and judgement, to winnow the chaffe from the corn, and separate the one from the other. And sure in this *Case Divinity* Protestants are now defective : for (save that a smith or two of late have built them forges and set up shop) we for the most part go downe to our adversaries to sharpen our instruments, and are beholden to the Romanists (the more our shame and their credit) both for offensive and defensive weapons in this kind” (p. 436)—a fact, which must, we fear, be owned obtaining even in the present day.

One of the principal dogmas of the Vatican Council was decreeing the personal infallibility of the occupant of St. Peter’s chair, speaking *ex-cathedrâ* in faith and morals. We all know the struggle on the part of the old Catholics when overborne by sheer numbers, principally Italians ; but our age, which was startled by the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (on the late Pio Nono’s *ipse dixit*), has witnessed the Vatican decrees, the syllabus, and the definition of the doctrine of Papal infallibility, the last addition (for the present) to the old Catholic creeds of undivided Christendom. This is not the place either to discuss its want of philosophic accuracy, its suicidal policy, its contempt of all historical evidence to the contrary, and

its contravention of the teaching of the last of the Fathers (S. Bernard) and the logic of the best schoolmen.

But there is a passage from Fuller's life of *Huss* on the schism of the Popes, which may answer our purpose on this subject, and may prove interesting to our readers. “Here happened a most remarkable Accident, very advantagious for the propagating of Husses doctrine. A Scisme happened in the Church of Rome betwixt three Popes at the same time, so that Peter's chair was like to be broken betwixt so many sitting downe together. This conduced much to the benefit of Huss, who thereupon took advantage to decline (so good a witt having an usefull Theame would loose nothing in handling it) against the Church of Rome : pleading that having three, it had no leagall head : that this monstrous apparition of the Man of Sin presaged his life was short : that these three Anti-Popes made up one Antichrist. In a word, there was opened unto him a great doore of utterance, made out of that cracke or cleft, which now happened in this seasonable schism at Rome.” “It was now high time a generall Councell should be called. The Church was growne fowle with long want of scouring. However, the vicious Court of *Rome* declined it (wonder not if theeves be willing to hear of an Assises) expecting that there their faults would be discovered and censured. All the world stood on the Tiptoes of Expectation, what the Councell would produce. Where for a while we leave them with the three Popes tug-
ging one against the other : where all three were at last deposed, and Pope Martin substituted in the roome of them.”

In the same Life our author hits off the theological proclivities and scholastic divinity of the period. “Now the

learning of that age moved in a very narrow circle in Case the Controversiall Divinity. The schoolmen, wanting the wings of the learned tongues, therewith to mount into the meaning of the Scriptures in their originall, only employed themselves in running round in the beaten path of common questions, whilst such amongst them as were of extraordinary parts, impatient to be confined within, yet unable to exceed the aforesaid compasse, let out their soules, and made roome for the activitie of their mindes by digging deepe into curious enquiries, where their best results are either unneccesarie or certaine, or both. Whereas John Huss, declining such intricate labyrinths betooke himselfe to finde out the right way to Heaven describ'd in God's word."

In his life of *Jerome of Prague* Fuller gives us an insight to the Council of Constance, which holds an important position in "Church History." "Now a generall counsell was called at *Constance*, which awakened the Christian world with the expectation of the successe thereof." "Then was he brought with a long chaine about him (like Saint Paul before King *Agrippa*) into the Counsell, his fetters on set purpose being shaken by those that led him, to make the more noise, to render him more ridiculous. Whereas indeed the sound of such shackles made more melodious musicke in the eares of the God of Heaven than all the loud chanting and unintelligible affected singing in their Superstitious Quires. They baited him with railings and opprobrious termes, but what is most remarkable, none solidly opposed him concerning the opinions of *Wicklief*, whereof he was accused, but charged him with youthfull extravagancies, rather imparting a luxury of wit, than amounting to any dangerous Opinion. But principally the master of the

University of *Hidelburgh* objected against him, that long since, when a Student there, he had caused a shield or escutcheon to be painted, in representation of the Persons in Trinity, comparing them therein to *Water, Snow, and Ice.*

“ Jerome denied not the fact, but defended the same, seeing God had stamped in naturall matters some countenances of supernaturale misteries. Thus the co-eternity of the Three Persons (beside the aforesaid Instance) are shadowed out in the *Sunne* and in *light* that proceedeth from it, and in a *beam* that ariseth from both. And seeing that Friars’ fancies most surfeit with such devices, and that more dangerous pictures neerer confining on Blasphemy, were commonly presented and privileged by them, they of all others were most unfit to cast the first stone at him for such innocent and harmlesse Portraitures which he had depicted. Thus they vexed him with triviall objections about unconcerning matters : but as for the maine businesse of Heresie, they presumed him to be guilty thereof, and he was never brought to a faire, and legall disputation concerning the same. From the Counsell he was carried home to the Prison, and there for many days kept with bread and water, so that had the proudest Anchorite, pretending to the highest abstinence, been Commoner with him, it would have tried his swiftest Devotion to keepe pace with him. Much other hard usage he felt for the space of twelve months, wherein his *feet were hurt in the Stocks, the Irons entered into his soule.*”

The last of Fuller’s contributions to this interesting work was the Life of Franciscus Junius, from which we will make a few quotations. Speaking of ancestry, our author says, “ Emblems of honour derived from Ancestors are but rotten rags where their ignoble posterity degenerate from their Pro-

genitors. But they are both glorious and precious where the children both answer and exceed the virtues of their extraction. Such here our *Junius*, *William* his grandfather, serving under *Lewis* the Twelfeth in the warres of *Navarre*, was rewarded for his valour with an augmentation of nobility in his *family*. *Dennis*, his *Father*, was a great practiser of the Civill Law, and got both credit and profit by his profession. But what need this superfluous luster to be borrowed from parentage to him who was enriched with plenty of light in himselfe?"

"Afterward, *Junius*, growne to be a stripling in that age wherein youth and man doth meet together, was sent by his father to *Lions* (Lyons) to study, a dissolute place, and full of all Licentiousnesse." Here he was nearly making shipwreck upon the rocks of unchastity and unbelief. Delivered from the first he fell on to the second. It is thus described by our author. "Here I stand still and demur with myselfe whether speech or silence is better. *Tell it not in Gath, &c.* It is a pity that so great sinnes of (afterwards) good men, should be committed to memory, But again, considering his shipwrack may be a seamarke for others, it must not be concealed. He turned neither better nor worse than flat Atheist. Certainly flyes, as they are ingenuous to doe mischief on Grapes, so they are judicious tasters, to choose the ripest and sweetest for their palate. And Satan is so subtle, that he pitcheth on the most fruitfull, yea rankest wits, as best for his purpose, and a dunce is no dish for the Divel's tooth."

"Full twelve months did *Junius* live in and lye under this dolefull and damnable condition, when it pleased God to save his life in a tumult in the city of *Lions*, that so signall a deliverance in the apprehension of *Junius* did point at a Deity, and

awakened his drowsie soule to the consideration of divine Providence. Afterwards, his parents, by improbable and unsuspected intelligence being informed of their son's Atheisme, set for him home, took order that he was better instructed, and enjoyned him the constant reading of the New Testament. Junius lighting on the first chapter of Saint John was, by God's Spirit moving in his heart, so highly affected therewith that he fell on a sudden both into an acknowledgement and admiration of Godin His Word. I have heard that superstitious Exorcists (who most serve the Devil when they pretend most to command him) use, or rather abuse this chapter to conjure out evill spirits out of persons possessed. What collusion or confederacy may passe betweene Sathan and his playmates, I neither doe nor desire to know. This sure I am, that that parcell of Scripture was so sanctified by God to *Junius* that it dispossessed his soule, and ejected thence that Atheisticall Fin formerly lodged therein. And now *Junius* begins to prefer *Solomon's Proverbs* before *Seneca*, his Sentences: the Psalmes of *David* before the Odes of *Horace*: *Jeremie's Lamentations* before *Ovid de Tristibus*: in a word, he grew sensible of the majesty in the meanest of the rich matter in the *plaine stile* of the Scripture."

Thus was Junius converted to the true faith, as St. Augustine was by reading the 13th Romans. When hearing a voice "tolle lege," he took up the roll of the Scripture and read that Epistle for Advent Sunday: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand," which culminated in his conversion, so that the Manichee became a Christian, and one of the greatest doctors of the Catholic Church.

We have now given short specimens of each of the seven

lives our author contributed to “Abel Redevivus,” and we should have liked to have given fuller ones, but our space forbids. However, we will not leave this able work without giving a quotation from another of the contributor’s lives, that of Bishop Andrewes, about whom it was said, by Master Isaacson, “if he had been contemporary with the Ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church, he would have been (and that worthily) reputed not inferior to the chiefest among them.”

Much is now done in the way of church decoration, and it will be seen that our good Bishop did not in his own private chapel neglect the worship of God “in the beauty of holiness.” “His first and principal vertue was his singular zeale and piety, which shewed it selfe not onely in his private and secret Devotions betweene God and himselfe (in which they that were about him, well perceived, that he daily spent many houres, yea, and the greatest part of his life, in holy prayers and abundant teares, the signes whereof they often discovered), but also in his exemplary publicke prayers with his Family in the Chappell : wherein he behaved himself so humbly, devoutly and reverently, that it could not but move others to follow his example. His Chappell (in which he had monthly Communions) was so *decently and reverently adorned*, and God served there with so holy and reverend behaviour of himselfe and his Family (by his patterne) that the soules of many (that (obiter) came thither in time of Divine Service) were very much elevated, and they stirred up to the like reverend deportment ; yea, some that had bin there, were so taken with it, that they desired to end their dayes in the Bishop of *Elyes* chappell.” The whole of his life, one of the longest in the collection, is a most charming

bit of biography, and to which perusal we would gladly urge those admirers of this saintly bishop, who know him by his "Prayers" or "Sermons," but have never read this life.

The old edition from which we have made our quotations is very rare and costly, being difficult to obtain, almost fabulous prices being asked for copies, especially when handsomely bound. Another edition appeared in 1652, with additions, and there were other impressions. We are informed, though we haven't seen the book, that it has been reprinted by that very industrious and painstaking publisher, Mr. William Nicholls, a great admirer of Fuller's writings, who remarks that "the whole mass of matter has an intrinsic worth which has been rightly appreciated by the succession of lovers of good books down to the present day."

Fuller was a born biographer, and there is no walk in literature in which he more excels. On this point the writer in the *Retrospective Review* says, "If he was frequently too careless and inaccurate in his facts, it was not from heedlessness as to truth, which no one reverenced more than he did, but because he considered them both as the rind and outward covering of the more important and more delicious stores of thinking and consideration which they inwardly contained; because he thought life too short to be frittered away in fixing dates and examining registers; what he sought was matter convertible to use, to the great work of the improvement of the human mind, not those more minute and jejune creatures of authenticity, which fools toil in seeking after, and madmen die in elucidating. In this he has been followed by a great biographical writer of the last age, with whom he had more points than one in common. Leaving, therefore, such minor parts of biography for the investiga-

tion of others, and seizing only on the principal events, and those distinguishing incidents or anecdotes which mark a character in a moment, and which no one knew better than Fuller to pick out and select, he detailed them with such perspicuity and precision and commented upon them with such accuracy of discrimination, strength of argument, and force of reason, and threw around them such a luminous and lambent halo of sparkling quaintness, shining upon and playing about the matter of his thoughts, and inspirited them with such omnipresent jocularity and humour, that, of all the biographical writers of his age, he is, in our opinion, infinitely the best. After the perusal of the more polished, but certainly not more agreeable biographers of modern times, we always recur with renewed gusto and avidity to the lives of our excellent author as to a feast more substantiated, without being less delicious."—(*R. Review*, iii., 55.)

The work soon became very popular, and was eagerly sought for, not a few imitators adventuring into the same field. But it has always held its own, and its intrinsic merit is even now proved by the price the original edition still commands. Our author's *Church History* was being now looked for with much eagerness, and as a proof of the fascination of Fuller's literary charms among some of his contemporaries, we may quote the following lines written in 1651, dedicated to Dr. Fuller by Clement Barksdale, a Hereford clergyman :

" Nor *Holy War*, nor yet the *Holy State*
Our *Heluoes* Appetite can satiate,
But we expect (not vainly) after all
The History Ecclesiasticall:
Some say, 'tis now come out; sure it hath been
Long promised, and 'tis high time 'twere seen,

Yet 'twere ingrate to charge thee with delay,
 Though slow, yet sure, in weighty *Gold* thou'rt pay,
 And this thy glorious recompence shall be,
Fame shall perpetuate thy *large memory.*"

We have witnessed in our days a wonderful change in the observance of Saints' Day, and the chief festivals of the Christian year, no doubt much owing to the influence of Keble's poetry under this name. Efforts seem to have been made in Fuller's day to revive, and keep in memory the Holy Days of the Church's Calendar, and with that object a manual of devotion (similar in character to the many "Steps to the Altar," "Treasury," and "Armoury" of Prayer, which have been published of late years) was put out by a London clergyman, Rev. Edward Sparke, Rector of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, since 1639 (but since ejected by sequestration) under the diminutive title of *Scintillula Altaris*. The work contained reflections on primitive devotion as to the feasts and fasts of the Christian Church, and was in its day "of no little esteem among some people," especially those churchmen who wished to retain the form of devotion to which they had been accustomed. Fuller wrote the prefatory verses "on the worthy work of my respected friend, Mr. Ed. Sparke":

"Dead Saints, dead days now put into their wine,
 See here a sweeter, brighter flame doth burn,
 Kindled from holy *Sparkes.*"

He recalls the word "urn":—

"For by thy Pen's perfection,
 Saints are not buried, but have Resurrection.
 Thou really dost from the dust retrive,
 And make not one but All-Saints to revive.
 Yea, by the pains which thou on them expend,
 Easter doth rise, Ascension day ascends;
 Thy Poetry is pleasant, Pictures fine,
 Thy Prose profound, but oh! the Prayers divine."

The first edition of the “Scintillula” contained many commendatory poems, and among them one by Isaac Walton. Fuller contributed some more verses in the next, or 1660 edition, which was published under the enlarged form of the word, “Scintilla Altaris.”

In Fuller’s frequent visits to the Metropolis, and just at this time in securing the patronage of his *Pisgah* and other forthcoming works (Waltham Abbey was only about 13 miles from town), his favourite resort was Sion College, a building belonging to the National Church, situate in London Wall, which our author happily called “a Ramah for the sons of the prophets in London.” This building had been incorporated in 1623 for the use of the London clergy, who under necessity betook themselves to it for shelter and protection. The President and Fellows are selected from the City of London Beneficed Clergy, and Fuller’s claim for admission was based on his position as a City lecturer, which claim was allowed. The public library, no doubt, proved very attractive to our learned author, and to it “persons of learning” had access six hours daily. It was very rich in sciences, languages and MSS., and was enriched in 1647 by the addition of the library from St. Paul’s Cathedral. Most of the learned men of that day contributed largely to this valuable collection, which perished in the Great Fire of London. Fuller, in his *Pisgah Sight*, alludes to the Hebrew map of Palestine which was engraved by Abraham Goos at Amsterdam, “a map, I can tell you, much valued by many antiquaries, as appears by their difficult procuring, dear purchasing, and careful preserving thereof, and you may find it solemnly set up at the upper end of Zion College library.” At the beginning of the civil wars the college fell into the

hands of the Presbyterians, many of the Presidents, including Calamy, being for that body. The old minute book of the proceedings of the Presbyterians is still preserved, who made it the rendezvous of the London Synod. It was here, no doubt, our author came in contact with many of the Presbyterians, including Calamy, who was President in 1650, for whose character he entertained a high respect, but for whose form of church polity and regimen he seems to have had not the slightest taste or appreciation.

On December 23rd, 1650, we find our author attending the death bed of Mr. Edward Norgate, of the Herald's office, a "right honest man," as Fuller calls him, and the "best illuminer or limner of our age." In Herrick's *Hesperides* there are some lines on him. "Exemplary" (records Fuller) "his patience in his sickness (whereof I was an eye-witness) through a complication of diseases which seized upon him." He was interred at St. Bennet's Church, Paul's Wharf, a church in which was much frequented by many noblemen and gentlemen attached to the old worship during the Commonwealth, the Rector, Dr. Adams, with consent of his churchwardens, continuing to have the Liturgy constantly used, and the Sacraments duly administered. This gentleman—who is surmised to have been a college acquaintance of our author—was the son of Dr. Robert Norgate, master of Corpus College, Cambridge, where he was born. His mother surviving his father, was married to Dr. Felton, Bishop of Ely, who permitted him to follow his inclination towards painting and heraldry. He was employed in Italy upon the purchase of pictures by the Earl of Arundel. He was afterwards made Blue-Mantle Pursuivant, and then Windsor Herald.*

* "Worthies," vol. i, p. 167.

CHAPTER II.

CITY LECTURER, AND LONDON PULPIT (1651-4).

"He filled the chair (pulpit) with a gracefull presence so that one needed not to do with him as Luther did with Melancthon when he first heard him reade, abstract the opinion and sight of his stature and person, lest the meannesse thereof should cause an undervaluing of him ; for our Whitaker's person carried with it an excellent port. His style was manly for the strength, maidenly for the modesty, and elegant for the phrase thereof, shewing his skill in spinning a fine thread out of course wool, for such is controversiall matter."—*Holy State* (Life of Dr. Whitaker), p. 61.

ONDON of to-day is a vastly different place to the London of more than two hundred ages : then it was confined to its city walls, and beyond were green fields, where suburbs now stand ; but at the present time it is throwing out its stony arms into all the home counties, and embracing them in its adamantine and metropolitical grip, so that we can hardly say where it begins and where it ends. It is a county now rather than a City, and from Hampton Court to Gravesend, all along the Thames valley, is more or less modern London. The city merchants, who formerly lived in the city or neighbourhood, are now whirled away nightly to one of its charming suburbs, by some metropolitan extension or loop line. This has altered the relations of the city churches, and the influence of the London pulpit among other causes. The city gentlemen never darken the city churches, except it be

at the midday shortened services in Lent and Advent, or to listen to the thrilling periods of some perfervid young orator and rising preacher under the dome of St. Paul's, with its present active organization, and energetic official staff, but worship in some neat and beautiful church in a suburban locality. There are nearly four millions of inhabitants in London—a population equal to that of the United Kingdom at one time. Many of the city churches have been removed, and gone away after its receding population. Others have been amalgamated, and the few left are principally used by the warehousemen and others, who are left to take care of the premises, which generate the wealth of this empire. The City is not a lively place on Sundays, especially in the morning. All this has affected the power and influence of the so-called London pulpit. This is not the only cause, but it is a chief one. Yet, even now, judging from the advertised lists of preachers for "to-morrow" in London, published in the papers and evening editions of Saturday—Anglicans, Romans, and Non-conformists—it is evident that good preaching is sought after, and even in modern London we can hear so-called popular preachers. And there is every facility for doing so by the rapid and local traffic. But, though the pet preacher is run after by his own coterie, there is nothing analogous to the influence of the London pulpit at the time we are considering, when a popular preacher "moved the town," and the potential predicatorial effort of Sunday was in everybody's mouth in the week following. This was not only natural, but a logical certainty from a variety of causes. The area was more circumscribed, the interest was more focalised and localised; the homiletic centre was within

everybody's reach ; and so, as from one given point, the influence of the pulpit utterances made itself felt in so many concentric rings through the Town, even to its utmost limits, and beyond. All this acted and reacted on both Preacher and hearer, and both stimulated effort, and generated interest. Nor was there the daily press, and the magazine article, to draw off the general attention. One must bear in mind all this different condition of things, to realise what the influence of preaching then really was, and to account for its somewhat altered power. These are days of a teeming press, of cheap books, of education becoming almost universal, and consequently of oral instruction becoming less and less necessary. Nevertheless, that kind of instruction will always have a place in every department of knowledge, and in that of sacred knowledge it can never lose the rank assigned to it in the form of Preaching by the Divine appointment.

It may indeed fail to have its position duly recognised, its proper function rightly understood, and adequate use made of it as a means of grace. As in an early age, so now it may be driven or lowered from its proper estate by an undue exaltation of ritual on the one hand, or on the other by the spread of a critical and contemptuous intellectualism. But, appreciated or not, well and sufficiently used or not, it will always be an office committed to the Church, and a power intrusted to her, which lay her under a vast and most solemn responsibility as to the account which she is able to give of it. "It was the pulpit, beyond anything else," says the late Professor Blunt, of Cambridge, "which carried the Reformation through. It had been dormant in the Roman Catholic times—few sermons then preached throughout the

year, except in Lent! ‘A priest might have left off a sermon twenty Sundays,’ says Latimer, ‘and never have been blamed.’ And the evil effect of this was twofold : the people became ignorant because they were not taught, and the priest became ignorant, because he was not put upon the necessity of teaching. But the Reformers revived the pulpit ; denounced the unpreaching priest and prelate. No scandal more fiercely inveighed against by Latimer than those ‘dumb dogs.’ The chief London pulpits, the King’s and Paul’s Cross, were supplied with the choicest divines, that the sound might go forth from the capital, in some degree, to all parts of the empire ; whilst the pulpits of the country were rendered as available as the ignorance of the times would admit, by the supply of homilies for the use of those pastors who were not equal to writing sermons for themselves. The pulpit thus achieved a more extensive and a more lasting conquest than all the armies of England ever did. The effect of a victory by the vulgar force of war passes and is forgotten, whereas that of the pulpit at the Reformation endures to this day, will endure throughout all time and in all eternity. Such capacity for good has the pulpit.

“ Again, it was the pulpit that awoke the nation to the *civil wars* in the reign of Charles, beyond every other instrument. If we read Lord Clarendon, we shall find that the main alarm—the primary spring—of all the movements of the powerful party that eventually subverted both throne and altar” (this was in Fuller’s time, be it remembered) “was the London pulpit—the London pulpit, which received the watchword from the stirring spirits of the rising government, and communicated the shock to all the pulpits

within the four seas. Such power had the pulpit for evil—the latter instance answering my purpose as well as the former, for it seems to demonstrate the energy there is in the pulpit, at least, however applied: and the consequent obligation there is upon us, who have it in our own hands to make the most of such an engine, and not allow it to go to sleep.”*

We must once more consider our Divine as an occupant of a London pulpit. At the end of the last chapter we noticed Fuller’s frequent visits to the metropolis and Sion College, where he was thrown in contact with the great divines of the period, and was soliciting the patronage of the London merchants and other “big” people for his published and forthcoming works, for his *Pisgah*, and *Church History*. This, no doubt, led up to his reappearance as a City Lecturer. Owing to the unsettled condition of the times, and the parish churches and office-bearers, the Lecturers were thus much in vogue.

John Evelyn, a true son of the Church of England, tells us in his diary (1650) that he wandered about to divers churches, where he found the pulpits “full of novices and novelties,” and again, “I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in those days) in St. Peter’s, St. Paul’s Wharf, London, and in the morning the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned man, in Lincoln’s Inn Chapel.” (1652.) “I went to Lewisham, where I heard an honest sermon on 2 Corinthians, v. 7, being the first Sunday I had been at church since my return, it being a rare thing to find a

* Professor Blunt’s “Lectures on the Duties of the Parish Priest,” Lecture v., p. 142.

priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and Fanatics." (1652.) "Christmas Day: No sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home."

By degrees, however, the parochial clergy began to reappear on the scene, as they had not only received direct encouragement from their former parishioners, but were less in fear of interruption on the part of the authorities. They had, of course, a right to their legal benefices to which they had been instituted, though they had indeed been sequestered, and themselves driven into exile. At this time frequent meetings of the duly ordained clergy of the old Historic Church of the country took place to arrange Church matters on a more satisfactory footing. The orthodox clergy preached about, sometimes in public and sometimes in private, and then a house would be obtained, and in the house an "upper room," which became "an oratory fitted for the preaching of the Word and administering the Sacraments, with constant use of the public liturgy of the Church."

(October 11, 1653). "My child christened by Mr. Owen in my library, at Sage's Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions, because the parish minister durst not have officiated, according to the form and usage of the Church of England, to which I always adhered." (Evelyn's Diary quoted in "Perry's History of the Church of England," ii, 224.)

We claim for our Divine the position of one of the "classic preachers of the English Church." Lectures have been recently delivered in St. James's, Piccadilly, on these eminent worthies (1877), and we are surprised to find that

Prebendary Kempe has not thought well to include Fuller in either series. If he was not deemed worthy to stand beside Donne (the poet preacher) or Barrow (the exhaustiv-preacher), and South (the rhetorician), or Butler (the ethical-preacher) in the first series, which we much question, he might surely have found a place by the side of Sanderson, or Hall, Sharp, Horne, Paley, and Leighton in the proposed second series. Certain it is, that he was, as a preacher as well as writer, much sought after in his day, not only for his wit, but his solid learning, sound theology, and the original treatment of his subjects.

Our Divine, with others, found himself once more settled in a stated London pulpit. His biographer thus alludes to this fact of these ministers returning to their flocks: "Through the zeal of some right worthy citizens, who hungered after the true and sincere Word, from which they had been restrained," and adds, "among the chief of whom was our good doctor, being settled lecturer at a time, at St. Clement's Lane, near Lombard Street, where he preached every Wednesday in the afternoon to a very numerous and Christian audience."*

The settlement of Fuller, 1651, in St. Clement's, near Eastcheap (in St. Clement's Lane, King William Street, City), refers to this *second* appointment there, his first, in 1647, having been interrupted by the authorities, as we have already seen. We don't, indeed, know who Fuller's successor or successors were in the interim, but there would be probably a succession of occasional lecturers, selected by vestry, and paid out of the funds of the parish.

* "Life", p. 41.

From Spencer's "Thing's New and Old," quoted by Mr. Russell at the end of his "Memorials," there are six quotations from Fuller's unpublished sermons, preached at St. Clement's in 1647-1655, but in what capacity we are not informed. He may, or may not, have been officially correlated with that urban parish during that interval, but this is certain, there is an official record in the minute book of the Vestry of the parish which tells us the connection between Fuller and his congregation. "The 5th September, 1651. Item, whereas it was then declared that Mr. Thomas Fuller, minister, did resolve, according to his promise, to preach his weekly lecture in the Parish Church of St. Clement's, the persons then present did give their free consent (nemine contradicente) that hee should preach, and that the churchwardens should provide candells and other necessaries for the said lecture upon the account of the Parish, and the friends and auditors of the said Mr. Fuller may be accommodated with convenient pew-room, it was then ordered that the present churchwardens should cause to be made two decent and necessary pews of the two seats in the chancell, where the youths of the parish doe now sit."* These occasional lecturers became very famous, and among others was Dr. Pearson, who in 1654-5-6 delivered the foundation discourses of his famous Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, into which it was turned, with a view to

* Archdeacon Churton, who copied the above minute in his edition of the minor works of Bishop Pearson (the dust of whose writings, as some one says, was like the refined gold), says that this occasional lecturer was Thomas Fuller, "the jester," adding that the record seemed to imply that his droll, quaint way made him popular.

the recovery of the doctrine of the Primitive Church. In his Preface to this Creed, he calls his hearers "The right worshipful and well beloved, the Parishioners of St. Clement's East Cheap." And after explaining the nature and object of the work, he goes on to say, anent their parish, and its patron saint : "That blessed Saint, by whose name your Parish is known, was a fellow labourer of St. Paul and successor of St. Peter ; he had the honour to be numbered in the Scripture with them, *whose names are written in the Book of Life* ; and when he had sealed the Gospel with his blood, was one of the first whose memory was perpetuated by building a church to bear his name. Thus was St. Clement's Church famous in Rome, when Rome was famous for the *faith spoken of throughout the whole world*. He wrote an epistle to the Corinthians infested with a schism, in imitation of St. Paul, which obtained so great authority in the primitive times, that it was frequently read in their public congregations, and yet had for many years been lost, till it was at last set forth out of the library of the late King."

" Now, as by the providence of God, the memory of that primitive saint hath been restored in our age, so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the PRIMITIVE FAITH may be revived, &c." In memory of this great Divine a memorial window has been lately put in at St. Clement's Church, as well as to that of Dr. Fuller.

It was here (at St. Clement's) our Divine preached his twelve sermons on "Our Lord's Temptation in the Wilderness," which were published in the following year, 1652. These sermons, though little known, are the most characteristic and finished of his homiletic compositions, sermons,

probably inferior to few in that age of sermons, and such as to make us feel regretful that we have not more of the same kind from so fertile, ingenious, and devout an author. To these twelve discourses our author prefixed two dedications, one to the Right Honourable and truly religious the Lady Isabella, Countess of James, third Earl of Northampton, and daughter and co-heiress of Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset. Fuller seems to have been very intimate with the family, and alludes to his “real respect” and “cordial gratitude” in reference to his patroness, averring that “his meanness is not capable in any other way to deserve the least of those many favours” which the Hon. Lady had conferred on him.

The other dedication is addressed to his constant auditors at St. Clement’s, East Cheap, in which he justly remarks that “a sermon preached serveth but an auditory: a sermon printed, *auditories*: and (if pious in itself) not only the present, but ensuing age may partake of the profit thereof.” In reply to the objection that the sermons had been contracted since their delivery, which had been of a more enlarged character (showing this at least, if Fuller did not preach extempore, or mandate his sermon after the manner of the Scotch preachers, he was no slave to his manuscript) he makes answer: “Let them know that the hand, when the fist is closed together, is the same with the same hand, when the fingers were stretched forth and palm thereof extended.” He tells his congregation that the sermons were “yours: at first intended for your instruction, delivered to your attention, digested (I hope) by your meditation, and now published for your further edification” (*i.e.*, his hearers at St. Clement’s).

The first four discourses are on “Christ’s Temptation to Despair.” On the notion that “solitariness is most advantageous for the Devil to tempt us,” he remarks : “Therefore Christ sent always His disciples by twos. . . . And this perchance was one reason why Christ, in the choice of His apostles and disciples, pitched on an even number, twelve of the one and seventy of the other, that if he should have occasion to subdivide them, they should fall out into even couples, and no odd one to lack a companion.” “The Popish Lent is only an exchange of the shambles for the fish-market: they abstain from flesh and feed on fish: which fish is also termed flesh in the language of the Apostle (1 Cor. xv. 37), ‘Another flesh of fishes.’” And again : “There is a received fancy, as old as common, as false as either, having no footing in Scripture, but founded partly on that licence which painters assume to themselves, partly in the pretended apparitions of ignorant monks, that the devil is horned. The best moral I can make of so fond a conceit is this: the devil’s temptations are horned or forked, *bi-cornea argumenta*. So that chuse which you will, he hoped to gore the soul.” Discussing the ways in which God wonderfully supports those who feed on His promises when in want, our Preacher declares “He can so extend the quantity, so improve the quality of meat, that coarse diet shall cause strength and health as well as dainties: as in the case of Daniel’s pulse. ‘Show me not the meat, but show me the man,’ saith our English proverb. When I behold the children of poor people, I perceive a riddle and contradiction between their fare and their faces: lean meat and fat children: small beer and strong bodies: brown bread and fair complexions. Nor can I attribute it to any

other cause but this, that the rich folk generally make long meals and short graces, while poor men have short meals and long graces : I mean that they rely more upon God's blessing than their own provision." *

Our Lord's second temptation was to presumption, and the next four discourses deal with this topic : "Now seeing the former temptation was to despair, this next to presumption, we learn, the Devil will endeavour to make men reel from one extremity to another. The possessed man oft fell into the fire, and oft into the water (Satan's world hath no temperate climate, but either torrid or frozen zone). Sometimes he casteth men into the fire of ill tempered zeal, sometimes into the water of Acedia, or a carelessness of what becomes of their soul : sometimes into the fire of over-activity to do nothing just ; sometimes into the fire of too much idleness to do just nothing," As an illustration, Fuller adduces "the modern ranters, formerly conceived (if guilty) to offend on the right hand, using too much praying and preaching, even to the neglecting of their calling, and now they are come (be it spoken and heard with sorrow) from living *above* ordinances (as they themselves term it), to live *against* ordinances, accounting blasphemy, adultery, Sabbath-breaking, etc., no sins : opposite are they to the man out of whom the unclean spirit being gone 'returned to an house swept and garnished' : whereas these, leaving an house swept and garnished, return to the unclean spirit. The worst I wish such is, to practise the precept prescribed (Rev. ii. 5) : 'Remember whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works,' and

let us avoid sin not only at a great distance, but also with good discretion, lest we sin through other extremes.”* The “Third Temptation of Christ to *Idolatry*” takes up the last four sermons. “Kingdoms,” he observes under his head, “are generally the governments wherein most earthly glory and gallantry is visible and conspicuous. Yet I believe there want not those who dare maintain that, though Pomp may be more in kingdoms, Pride may be as much in commonwealths.”†

In the course of the year 1651, we find that Fuller paid a visit to his old University—his Alma Mater—at Cambridge. This will synchronise with a remark which he made at the close of his sermons on our Lord’s Temptation to his dear hearers at St. Clement’s, to the effect, that he was about to take leave of his auditory for a time. In May of that year he appears to have preached the University sermon at St. Mary’s, which is still the usual place for the delivery of these sermons. St. Mary’s has been restored now, but formerly there was a large pulpit facing a high gallery in the west end, where the heads of Colleges and Dons sat, called facetiously Golgotha; the body of the church was reserved for the Masters of Arts, and the gallery, running round three sides of the fabric, allotted wholly to the undergraduates. There is a story told of Pitt’s visit to the University, when Prime Minister, and he was the youngest Premier, we believe, this country ever had. He was of course accommodated with a seat in Golgotha, when attending the “Varsity Sermon,” and it so happened

*Pp. 82-5.

† P. 185.

that at this time there were several choice bits of preferment vacant, in the shape of a bishopric, or deanery, and one or two canonries. The preacher, somewhat of a wag, gave out his text with peculiar empressemement as follows, suiting, of course, the action to the words : “ There is a lad here (meaning Pitt) who hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes ; but what are they (pointing down to the expectant masters in the nave) among *so* many.” It was also in this church that the Parish clerk said he had been “ clerking nigh forty years, and had heard all the distinguished preachers of the day, and he was thankful to say, that he had still some religion left.” It was in this church our Divine preached. Bishop Brounrig, the ejected master of Catherine Hall (now St. Catherine’s College), writes as follows, under the date May 21st, to Sancroft, fellow of Emmanuel College, and subsequently the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, as follows (old spelling retained) :—

“ Sir,—I am desirous to heare how you ar dealt withall for yr. continuance in Cambridge. I think your criticall moneth (month) is out, so my hope is you ar forborne or forgotten by them which did pursue you. I have returned to you Forbes his irenicum and Bochartus his epistle. Mr. Baxtor’s book I have retained, and shall send you the price of it when you please to signify what it must cost. I heare that Mr. Fuller did lately preach at (Great) St. Maries : doeth he intend to commence or what occasion brought him thither? If you can spare or any good newes, I pray impart it to us. I hope yr. pupill Geves doeth well, to whom I commend my love, with the very affectionate assurance of it to yrself, I rest

“ Yrs in all love,

RA EXON.”

On the 29th of the same month, Sancroft thus replies to the Bishop of Exeter's note. "Mr. Fuller preacht at St. Marie's on Whit-Sunday (May 18th) in the morning. It was only a piece of courtesy to Dr. Minshull, and a supply to his course, and for noe other designe, yt I can heare soe much is suggested."

Cambridge was not the only place we read of him during these northward journeys—it may be collecting materials for his "Church History," now eagerly looked for, and a portion having been sent to the Press, or for his "Worthies," in his antiquarian zeal. He received a warm reception from the good people of Leicester, delighted to welcome so comely and curious a stranger as our witty antiquarian. He paid a visit to Derbyshire and to Buxton, where he read Queen Mary's "distich made and written by her own hand on a pane of glass at Buxton well" :—

"Buxtona qua calidæ celebraris nomine Lymphæ
Forte mihi posthac' non adeunda, vale."

"Buxton who dost with waters warm excell
By me, perchance, never more seen, farewell."

His remarks anent the "spruceness and spirits" of the Lancashire folk, and the carved woodwork of Manchester Cathedral, are evidently the result of personal observation, and from the pen of one who has had ocular demonstration.

Fuller no doubt remained lecturer of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, till the advent of Dr. Pearson, whose connection with this church and dedicatory epistle to its parishioners we have already noticed. There is a mention of a sermon by him in 1652-4, preached on special occasions.

But this city lectureship at St. Clement's was not the only

one which Fuller held. He was also lecturer of *St. Bride's*, Fleet Street, this is certain, and it is supposed by some that he was likewise lecturer of St. Andrew's, Holborn, but this statement must be received with caution, as it is probable that Lloyd (who mentions it) is confusing our Fuller with Dr. Fulwar, Bishop of Ardfert, who was connected with this parish, and it is only another way of spelling the name.

Together with these lectureships (perhaps the sermons were chiefly delivered on week days, Wednesdays or Saturdays), and in spite of his literary exertions, frequent journeys, and numerous calls of friendship, Fuller continued to discharge the parochial duties and official responsibilities of his curacy at Waltham Abbey, and his chaplaincy to the Earl of Carlisle "very piously and profitably." Fuller's domestic surroundings, however, were about to undergo a change. He came to Waltham a widower ("the second part of a bachelor" as he calls it), with only one son, the hope of his old age; but now, it appears, his thoughts turned towards marriage.

The Church of England allows her clergy to do as they please in the matter of marriage, although perhaps on the whole she rather encourages than sanctions it. She neither forbids it altogether, as in the Roman Church, nor restricts it only to the priesthood and diaconate and secular clergy, insisting only on the celibacy of the episcopate (usually selected from the regular clergy) as in the Holy Eastern and Greek Churches. She even tolerates a second or third marriage. The 32nd article is explicit on this point: "It is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness." And no doubt the circumstances of

the case make it desirable, especially in rural cures, that the official residence of the parish priest should be tenanted by the *placens uxor* and *pignora cara*, and other domestic surroundings, the Parsonage being the model home of the parish. Our Divine, at all events, turned his thoughts to another marriage, and we must give him the credit of a long interval.

His biographer thus writes of this change: "The Doctor having continued some twelve years (1641-1651) a widower, the war finding him so, had the better relisht the loss of his first wife, by how much the freer it rendered him of care and trouble for her in those tumultuous times; so as by degrees it had almost settled in him a persuasion of keeping himself in that state. But now an honourable and advantageous match presenting itself, and being recommended to him by desire of his noble friends" (possibly the Earl of Carlisle, and members of the Bedford family), "he consented to the notion." (P. 42.) Fuller's second wife was of the family of Ropers, Viscounts Baltinglass, a title of recent creation, but now extinct. Fuller writes thus in his "Worthies" of them: "Sir Thomas Roper, son of Thomas Roper, was born in Friday Street, in London, whose grandfather was a younger son of the House of Heanour, in Derbyshire. Indeed, *Furneaux* was the ancient name of that family until Richard Furneaux married Isald, the only daughter of John Roper, of Beighton, in the county of Derby, Esquire, and on that consideration was bound to assume the name of Roper, by Indenture, dated the seventh of Henry the Sixth. Thus Sir Thomas going over into the Low Countries, became page to Sir John Norrice, and was Captain of a foot company at sixteen

years of age. What afterwards his martial performances were, to avoid all suspicion of flattery (to which my relation may incline me) I have transcribed the rest out of the original of his patent." This document describes him as Privy Councillor of the kingdom of Ireland, refers to his military exploits in that country, at Brest, and in the Low Countries, and creates him Baron of Bauntrie *i.e.*, Bantry, Cork, and Viscount Baltinglass, Wicklow. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Harrington (who was son of Sir J. Harrington by his wife, Lucy Sidney, daughter of Sir Wm. Sidney, of Penhurst, Kent), and he died at Roper's Rest, in February, 1637, and his wife, July 1639, both being buried in St. John's Church, Dublin.*

The Viscount was succeeded by his son Thomas, to whose wife, "The right honourable and truly virtuous lady, Annie, Viscountess Baltinglasse," Fuller soon after his marriage dedicated his *Triple Reconciler*. In the Epistle Dedicatory, he likens his book to an olive branch, and says, "My humble request to you is, that with Noah you would be pleased to put forth your hand and receive it into the ark of your protection." And in conclusion he adds, "The Lord bless your Honor with your noble Consort, and sanctifie your former sufferings, which a National Calamitie hath cast upon you, that your last days may be your best days, both in temporal and spiritual improvement." Fuller is referring to his wife, when in this a dedicatory epistle in his *Church History* to Clement Throckmorton, the elder, of Haseley, county Warwick, Esquire, he says that "a principal consideration which doth and ever shall commend my respect

* "Worthies, London," pp. 213-4.

unto your person is your faithful and cordial succeeding in matters of highest concernment (whatever be the success thereof), to the best of my relations, which I conceived myself publicly to confess." The Throckmortons were connected with the Ropers, and suffered for their adhesion to the cause of Charles I.

There is no record of Fuller's second marriage, and we don't know when and where the ceremony was performed. In the register books of Waltham Abbey there is no mention of any such fact, but we may be quite sure our Divine was married in the old way, and according to the rites of the Church of England, receiving the Church's blessings in his nuptials, carrying with it the legal sanction likewise (the statute establishing the Liturgy not having been repealed), like the priest who "married his own daughter with the Book of Common Prayer and a ring," giving for a reason that he "was loath to have his daughter turned back upon him for want of a legal marriage." The Barebones Parliament (1653) decreed that marriages were to be solemnized before Justices of the Peace, and this was the law till 1656, when marriage in church was declared to be legal. Fuller's second marriage seems to have been a chequered one—births followed by early deaths succeeding in quick succession. In the early part of December 1652, a son was born. The Waltham Register runs thus: "James Ffuller, sone to Mr. Thomas Ffuller, and was baptised 27th December, being named after his patron, the Earl of Carlisle." He lived about eighteen months, the burial register notifying the fact, "James Ffuller, sonn to Mr. Thomas Ffuller, minister, as also to Mrs. Marie, buried in the chancell." Turning to the baptismal register, we find,

"Anne, daughter to Mr. Thomas and to Mrs. Marie Ffuller, was borne the 17th November, 1653," being named probably after her maternal grandmother, the patroness of Fuller's *Triple Reconciler*. Anne lived but a short time, and was buried Thursday, 19th April, 1655. Only a few days after this sad event a son was born, 7th May, who received the Christian name of his father and grandfather; *the name par excellence* of the Fullers, and which has been connected with the family, and descended to our own generation. It was this Fuller who grew up, from whom the name Thomas has been perpetuated. Little is known of him beyond what Fuller's biographer says of him, that he was "then (1661) six years old, a very hopeful youth." Fuller's eldest son John, by his first marriage, was eleven years old in 1653, and was sent to St. Paul's school, where he was a scholar or "pigeon." Our author speaks very kindly of this school, which had been founded by Colet, and was placed under the care of the Mercers' Company. While there, Mr. Langley, the friend of Selden, was the head master, "an able and religious schoolmaster," and Fuller's judicious friend. Fuller seems to have been very happy in his domestic surroundings, being one of those men just fitted for married life, the delights of which were both congenial to his nature, charming in their related association, and germane to his literary pursuits and parochial responsibilities. "Certainly," says his biographer, "no man was more a tender, more indulgent a husband and father: his conjugal love in both matches being equally blest with the same issue, kept a constant tenor in both marriages, which he so improved, that the harmony of his affections stilled all discord and charmed the noise of passion. Towards the education of his children he was

exceeding careful, allowing them anything conduced to that end beyond the present measure of his estate ; which it is well hoped will be returned to the memory of so good a father, in their early imitation of him in all those good qualities and literature to which they have now such an hereditary claim." (Pp. 72-3.)

Being on a visit in the Spring of 1653 to Sir Robert Cook, at his seat at *Dyrdans*, near Epsom, Fuller preached a sermon in his chapel entitled, "*Perfection and Peace*," from the words in Ps. xxxvii, "*Mark the perfect, behold the upright man.*" This sermon he dedicated with his usual pleasantry to the Right Hon. George Lord Berkeley, being then also on a visit at the same house. Fuller was always fond of heraldry, and brought it in, and to bear on his subject when he could. In his dedication, therefore, he refers to the family arms, as showing its devotion in darker days, "the Mitre showing your ancestors' action in *Peace*; the Cross their achievement in the Holy War; the Mitre their doings at home, the Cross their doings abroad. The arms were still worthily borne, the Mitre speaking you a pattern of learning, the Crosses a practiser of religion, qualities which encouraged me to present this small treatise to you." The sermon is said to be "so long in coming, so short when come."

This verse furnished the description of the dead, and direction for the living. Our preacher seems most of all enraptured with the amiableness of peace "especially to us, who have so long prayed for it, and payed for it, and sought for it, and fought for it, and yet as yet in England have not attained it. For the tragedy of our war is not ended, but the scene thereof removed, and the element

only altered from earth to water." (An allusion to the then Dutch war). "Surely had we practised David's precept 'Eschew evil, and do good, seek peace and ensue it,' before this time we had obtained our desire. It is to be feared that we have been too earnest prosecutors of the last, and too slow performers of the first part of the verse: great have been our desires, but small our deeds for peace."

Speaking upon perfection, he observes that in a fourfold aspect a servant of God may be pronounced perfect even in this life :—

"1. *Comparatively*, in reference to wicked men of this world.

"2. *Intentionally*. The drift, scope, and purpose of such a man's life is to desire perfection, which his desires are seconded with all the strength of his weak endeavours. He draweth his bow with all his might, and perfection is the mark he aimeth at, though too often his hand shakes, his bow starts, and his arrow misseth.

"3. *Inchoatively*. We have here the beginning, and the earnest as of the Spirit, so of all spiritual graces, expecting the full (not payment, because a mere gift, but) receipt of the rest hereafter. In this world we are a perfecting, and in the next we shall come to the spirits of just men made perfect.

"But blame not, beloved, if I be brief in these three kinds of perfections, rather touching than landing at them in my discourse : seeing I am partly afraid, partly ashamed, to lay too much stress and weight on such slight and slender foundations. I hasten with all convenient speed to the fourth, which is worth all the rest. A servant of God is even in this life perfect.

“4. *Imputatively*; Christ’s perfections, through God’s mercy, being imputed to him. If I be worsted in my front, and worsted in my main battle, I am sure I can safely retreat to this my invincible rear: in the agony of temptation, we may quit *comparative perfection* (alas! *relation* is rather a shadow than a substance), quit *intentional* perfection, being conscious to ourselves how oft our actions cross our intentions: quit *inchoative* perfection, for whilst a servant of God compareth the little goodness he hath with that great proportion which by God’s law he ought to have, he conceiveth thereof, as the pious Jews did of the foundation of the second Temple (Hag. ii. 9.), ‘Is it not in *your eyes* in *comparison* of it as *nothing*? ’ But still we may and must to *imputative* perfection, which indeed is God’s act, clothing us with the righteousness of Jesus Christ.”

As to his position with regard to a form of government of which he was a staunch opponent, he says: “All men ought to have a public spirit for the general good of our nation, the success whereof we leave to the all-managing Providence of the God of heaven and earth. But I hope it will be no treason against our State (and I am sure it will be safe for us who are but private persons) to provide for the securing of our souls, and to build a little cock-boat, or small vessel, of a *quiet conscience* in our own hearts, thereby to escape to the haven of our own happiness. We wish well to the great ship of our whole nation, and will never desert it so, but that our best prayers and desires shall go with it. But however Providence shall dispose therefore, we will stick to the petty pinnace of peace in our own consciences. Sure I am, no soldiers will be able to cut the cables.”

Anent Balaam's wish for the death of the righteous, "Let me die," etc., he remarks: "He would commence *per saltum* take the degree of Happiness without that of Holiness, like those who will *live* Papists, that they may sin the more freely, and *die* Protestants, that they may be saved the more certainly. But know that it is an impossibility to graft a peaceable death upon any other stock but that of a pious life." (P. 12.)

In the general revival of Church principles, and the levelling-up of Church practices and discipline, a great deal has been said of late about the systematic art of Meditation, which has been more preached and practised during the last few years, than for a long period preceding the Church movement of our day. Few practices are more useful, and few more efficacious in deepening the interior or spiritual life. There are now helps and systematic rules for endeavouring it, to be met with in "Treasuries of Devotion," or "Eucharistic Manuals," or "Armouries of Prayer." The pages of Thomas à Kempis' "Life of Christ," Scupoli's "Spiritual Combat," or Rodriguez's "Christian perfection," will furnish all that is needful. Our Divine has something much to this purpose. On 5th of November he preached from Gen. xlix. 6, "*O my soul, come not thou into their secret.*" Treating of *Meditation*, he truly observes: "Had people this art of entertaining a time to discourse with themselves, it would prevent much mischief. Thou mayest divide thy soul into several parts, and thou mayest discourse, if thou wilt, with thy *understanding, memory, fancy*, and the several affections of thy soul. Ask that question of thy *understanding* which Philip asked of the Eunuch (Acts xiii.), '*Understandest thou what thou readest?*' Call

your understanding to account whether you understand what you read or no. Ask thy *fancy* that question which Achish once propounded to King David, '*Where hast thou been roving all this day?*' Bring thy fancy to account. Ask that of thy *memory* which the master did of the unjust steward (Luke xvi.), '*Give an account of thy stewardship.*' Ask thy memory what good thou hast treasured up. When thou findest thyself transported with *mirth*, ask thy soul that question God did to Sarah, '*Why laughest thou?*' When thou seest the passion of anger grow too violently upon thee, ask of it that question which God did of the prophet Jonah, '*Dost thou well to be angry?*''

At the conclusion he says : " Many desire that this day may not be kept, but forgot, and methinks it looks with a paler colour in the Almanac than it used to do ; but next year it will be a full jubilee, fifty years since the contrivance thereof. Let all whom God shall lend life unto that day keep in your minds the memorial of so great a blessing, and preserve the memory thereof. For what principles of false doctrines had infected this land, had this plot taken effect ? And therefore it shall be my prayer that God will write thankfulness in your hearts to a continual remembrance of the same." The observance of this day remained on to our own times, but this form of prayer has lately gone, with the rest of the State offices, out of our Prayer Book, except that for June 20th, " being the day on which our beloved Sovereign began her happy reign."



CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH (1650-1660).

"These last five years have been a wet and woeful seed time to me and many of my afflicted brethren. Little hope have we as yet to come to our own homes, and, in a literal sense, now to bring our sheaves, which we see others daily carry away on their shoulders. But if we shall not share in the former or latter harvest here on earth, the third, and last in Heaven, we hope undoubtedly to receive."—(*Good Thoughts in Bad Times, Personal Meditations*, vii.)



LTHOUGH our author was, on the whole, left pretty much to pursue the even tenour of his way, the clergy of the National Church were having a hot time of it during the time of the Commonwealth. Things had gone bad with them when the Presbyterians were in power, but they fared no better when the Independents got the ascendency. The Presbyterians had done their best to make Churchmen abandon the Faith of their fathers, the Church of the primitive and best ages, for the modern dreams of a distempered fanaticism. But the vials of anger were chiefly poured on the devoted heads of the clergy. As far back as 1643 every man's hand seemed against them, and they were insulted in the midst of their sacred duties, and pillaged with impunity. It was seriously debated to send them to New England as slaves,* and even proposed to sell them to work the galleys

* "Mercurius Rusticus," Sec. II.

of Angiers.* The orthodox clergy were stigmatised as Priests of Baal, sons of Belial, dumb dogs, unclean beasts, blind seers, and idle drones,† a “rotten rabble of scandalous priests, and spurious sons of Belial,”‡ and the Bishops were called “the perfidious and rotten-hearted prelates, and Armenian-pontificians, who mightily and maliciously cherishing formality, conformity, and superstition, and greedily gaped after a change of religion.”§

There had been a general destruction of sacred things and ancient monuments of piety and devotion. Rich stained windows, carvings, decorations, *copes*, *surplices*, Prayer books, and even Bibles had been ruthlessly destroyed. In the heart of London stood a stately cross in memory of Queen Eleanor, which many generations had admired, and which had twelve times been repaired and gilded by successive Sovereigns at great cost. Upon this the fury of the rabble was poured out. “I saw,” says Evelyn, “the furious and zealous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside.” The Cathedrals, perhaps, were served worse than even the Parish Churches, being in the eyes of the Puritans, the concrete embodiment of prelacy. Cromwell did not spare Peterborough Cathedral, and one writing from Canterbury, said: “The soldiers here have been a little unfriendly with altars, crucifixes, tapers, singing Idaeas, and pictures in the Cathedral.” This is the account of the matter by Dr. Pashe, the sub-dean: “The soldiers, entering

* “Mercurius Aulicus,” cap. 30, 1643.

† “Querela Cantabrigiensis,” p. 6.

‡ Walker I, 48.

§ Vicar’s “Jehovah Jireh,” p. 6.

the Church and Choir, overturned the Communion table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organ, brake down the ancient rails and seats with the brazen eagle, which did support the Bible, rent the surplices, gownes, and Bibles, mangled all our service books and Books of Common Prayer, and exercised their malice upon the arras hanging in the choir, representing the whole story of our Saviour. Wherein observing divers figures of Christ, I tremble to express their blasphemies. One said, here is Christ, and swore he would stab Him : another said, here is Christ, and swore he would rip up His bowels, which they did accordingly, as far as the figures were capable thereof, and many other villanies."* As to what took place at Norwich Cathedral, the good Bishop Hall (Fuller's predecessor in his cure at Waltham Abbey) thus writes : " It is no other than tragical to relate the carnage of that furious sacrilege whereof our eyes' tears were the sad witnesses. Lord ! what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wrestings out of iron and brass from the windows and graves. What a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, where, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, *vestments*, both *copes* and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the greenyard pulpit, the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market place : a lewd wretch walking before the train,

* " *Mercurius Rusticus*," p. 183.

in his *cope* trailing in the dirt, with a service book in hand, imitating the *tune* and usurping the words of the Litany formerly in the church.”* As the war proceeded, churches and cathedrals became favourite stabling places for troops of cavalry, fonts were used as drinking troughs, and communion tables treated as a shelf in a barrack-room. In a few years’ time the ancient *ornaments* of the church became so scarce, that they were shown privately, where they remained, to well-affected visitors, as great rarities. “Here at York,” says Evelyn, “as a great rarity in these days, and at this time, they showed me a Bible and Common Prayer Book, covered with crimson velvet, and richly embossed with silver gilt, also a service for the Altar of gilt-wrought plate.† Wherever the Parliamentary forces came, both clergy and churches suffered; and under the protection of the military, all the wild excesses of the fanatical and reckless spirits of the neighbourhood were developed.

The loyal clergy had been ejected, as we have seen, and their livings sequestrated. By the Ordinances of August 11th, 1645, the Common Prayer was forbidden to be used, even privately under heavy penalties, ‡ and soon afterwards the committee of plundered ministers, which sat in the Exchequer Chamber, was directed to send for such ministers as “have of late, or do now cause the Book of Common Prayer to be read, and to take care for the silencing of them.” §

Deprivations went on with such rapidity that it was found impossible to find substitutes for the ejected clergy, and many

* “Wordsworth’s Eccles.: Biog.”, iv. 309.

† “Evelyn’s Memoirs,” ii. 90.

‡ “Husband’s Collections,” p. 715.

§ Walker, p. 71.

churches had to go without pastors. The Church in Cornwall is now rapidly rising under its first able Diocesan (Dr. Benson), and the new active Diocesan organization connected with the diocese and cathedral of Truro, out of the depths—de profundis—of its former low ebb. Many causes we might assign to the state of Cornish Churchmanship of a bygone age, the parish church being often at the extreme end of a long parish, new populations growing up round some mining centre, the abeyance of church discipline, the revival under the Wesleys, and the enormous distance from the centre of the late diocese of Exeter, but we should not be wrong in assigning the state of things at this time as one of the causes ; *forty* parishes (out of its two hundred and odd) were left altogether unprovided for. At the considerable moorland town of Tavistock, the centre of great agricultural and mining interests, there was no resident pastorate, no settled minister, from 1642 to 1648. And Principal Baillie, an unexceptionable authority in these matters, is bound to own that after all the efforts of the assembly in the way of ordination, some *thousands* of churches had to remain vacant for want of men. (Baillie's Letters, ii. 222.)

The ejected ministers and their families were often driven to the greatest distress, and reduced to abject want, misery, and poverty. Even such men as Dr. Peterson, Dean of Exeter, and Rector of St. Breock, though much beloved by his parishioners, was driven out of home with a sick wife by a troop of horse. In fact every kind of indignity was heaped upon them.

But if they had suffered untold miseries at the hands of the Presbyterians, they did not gain much by the ascendancy of the Independents. The petition to Sir Thomas Fairfax,

in 1647, states their sufferings with a touching pathos, but all to no purpose ; it was evident there was nothing to be gained from either party, and the miseries under which the clergy groaned, cried aloud against their persecutors. The state of things came to a crisis by the execution of the Primate of all England, Archbishop Laud. The Church of England was indeed in a prostrate condition just now. With its Primate done to death, its other Bishops either in prison or flight, thousands of its clergy deprived of their benefices, its churches defaced, its liturgy proscribed, the National Church now lay bleeding at every pore. Deprived of their means of subsistence, driven from their homes, the exercise of their ministry denied them, railed upon, scoffed at and persecuted, many thousands of the clergy of the Church of England were now beggars and outcasts on the earth.

And yet what had they done, as a body, to deserve all this, at all events in their corporate capacity ?

The Independents gradually encroached upon the Presbyterians, and long before they had gained the political ascendency the views which they advocated had obtained the victory. Between these two bodies, by the former speaking out for toleration, there was an irreconcilable difference. But this generated a mania for sectarianism, and thus both its intensity and immorality was, under God, the means of bringing back to reverence and honour that Church which had been overthrown by Presbyterian rancour. Sect succeeded sect, heresy and schism everywhere abounded. There were first the Presbyterians, who were followed by the Independents, and then the floodgates of unbridled licence stood wide open. From the Independents sprang the *Anabaptists*, the founder of whom was Mr. Smith, and from

them again the *Fifth-Monarchy* men, who “drunk with enthusiasm and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow none to have a share in government beside the saints.”* No less fanatic were the *Vanists*, the *Seekers*, the *Ranters*, who set up the light of nature under the name of “Christ in Man,” disparaging Scripture, the ministry, and ordinances, and associated with them in many of their views the *Familists*. There were the *Quakers*, whom we have been considering, founded by George Fox, in Drayton, 1624. Then there were the *Bethmenists*; nor may we omit the *Romanists*, who, with their Popish intrigues, may have fomented differences and stimulated excesses, especially through the soldiers in the army. It is said that over one hundred and sixty different sects started up in this land, once “the island of saints,” when our “Jerusalem was at unity in itself,” and the scenes which occurred both in the churches and churchyards baffle all description. During the period of the Commonwealth, religion was probably at as low an ebb as at any period of our history. “The common people,” says Isaak Walton, “were amazed, and grown restless and giddy by the many falsehoods and misapplication of truth frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scriptures by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon Him in their prayers to patronise their sacrilege and zealous frenzies.”† Infidelity and the grossest immorality spread over the land, and the London Ministers had to complain that the people cared neither for God or man. Nor was there any settled church

* “Clarendon’s Rebellion,” p. 857.

† Walton’s Sanderson, Wordsworth’s *Eccles. Biog.*, iv. 444.

government to regulate ordination, or administration of the sacraments. Meantime the clergy were few and far between, and these, subject to every kind of persecution and insult, could hardly hold their own. These ministers had a harder part to act for their wisdom and honour than they had ever had before under any set of rulers.

Evelyn, in his diary, on his return to England (1653), laments that there was no church to go to, no sermon anywhere, and he was obliged to have his child baptised at home, where also he spent his Christmas Day, "as there was no church permitted to be open." Many of the more distinguished English clergy were in France, following the fortunes of the exiled Royal Family. These were Dr. Morley (afterwards Bishop of Winchester), Dr. Cosin (afterwards Bishop of Durham), Dr. Stewart (Dean of St. Paul's), and Dr. Earle, Dr. Lloyd, and the learned and energetic Bishop Bramhall,* with many others. Dr. Cosin acted as chaplain to the Royal Family, and in spite of the influence of the Queen, Henrietta Maria, an unscrupulous partisan of the Romish religion, he reclaimed many that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed many that were wavering. "He was the Atlas of the Protestant religion whilst he remained in France," says Fuller, in his *Worthies* (Durham). Those clergy who were secluded from exercising their ministry in public were striving by their pens, like our Divine, to preserve Christian truth and sound doctrine, and to turn the sharpness of the troubles into an occasion for impressing on the members of their Church greater devotion and holiness of life. Such

* "Evelyn's Diary," ii. 42.

men were Jeremy Taylor, and Hammond, and Sanderson, and Bishop Prideaux, the author of a touching and pathetic devotional work (for members of the Church to use), the *Euchologia*. But the oppression which now weighed down the Church of England, reached even to such men as these, for it was as universal as indiscriminating.

We have already seen the action which the commissioners called "Triers" took in their endeavours to entrap the clergy and those who belonged to the National Church, and the clever and judicious way our Divine escaped their meshes. The instrument was entirely designed against Episcopalianists, and their mode of examination was intended to demonstrate that the grace of God could not reside in a *prelatical* Divine. This, of course, subjected the clergy to great delays and expense, and led up to great dissatisfaction. But the animus against the Church was clearly seen by the Protector's Edict of 1655, by which it was provided "that no person after Jan. 1st, 1656, should keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against, and that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or schools, for delinquency or scandal, should from and after the said Jan. 1 keep any school, public or private, nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting, of any other persons than those of his own family: nor administer Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of Prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so

offending in any of the premises shall be proceeded against," &c.*

"This day," writes John Evelyn in his Diary, "came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any schools in which he imitated the Apostate Julian." And again: "I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter." Of this rigid severity there was no relaxation until the Restoration. Whatever schemes of toleration were vented for sectaries, "Popery and Prelacy" were always exempted, and the latter term was interpreted to mean all those who were loyal to the Church of England. In the Protector's view of government (even according to the Puritans' Apologist *Neal's* own showing), consolation of justice as such had no place.† Not only were the most tyrannical acts indulged in, but the hideous cruelties of the Star§ Chamber (Camera

* "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy," i. 194. *Neal*, the great Apologist for Cromwell's religious policy, says:—"This was a severe and terrible order on the Episcopalians and unjustifiable in itself." *Puritans* iv. 122.

† "Evelyn's Diary," ii. 107.

‡ "Neal's Puritans." iv. 173.

§ See Fuller's (Rev. Morris) *Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases*, p. 27.

Stellata, so called from the room where the Council sat being emblazoned with stars) were exactly repeated—so much for Puritan toleration, when Puritanism was in power !

The state of practical religion may be shown by another extract from Evelyn's diary :—" On Sunday afternoons," he says, " I frequently stayed at home to catechise and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so that people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity, all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons, and in discourses of speculative, and national things." (1655.) The great doctrine of Toleration at this time was much in vogue, and found its way into the confessions of the Westminster Assembly, with a learned preface, written by the celebrated Dr. Owen, to the credit of the Independents be it spoken. For if to Hales, Chillingworth, and especially to Jeremy Taylor, belongs the glory of having first advocated toleration, to the Independents must be allowed the credit of having formulated it into a system.

But their practice was opposed to their professed principles. For it would seem that in proportion as the doctrine of toleration became more fashionable, the afflictions of the persecuted Church only increased, and more bitter and determined was the hostility displayed against it. At the end of 1659, Evelyn writes in his Diary, "I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas Day ; Mr. Gunning preaching on Micah vii, 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded by soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. In the afternoon came Colonel

Whalley, Goffe, and others from Whitehall, to examine us one by one ; some they committed to Marshall, and some to Prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them) I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayer, which they told me was but the Mass in English. Finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the Altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as, perhaps, not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action."*

The exercise of their office being thus ruthlessly denied to all the clergy, who had not accepted the Protector's Government, while at the same time they were neither suffered to be schoolmasters, nor to reside in private houses as chaplains, the greatest poverty and distress began, as might be expected, to prevail among them. Evelyn tells us that a collection was made among the orthodox laity for their suffering and almost starving ministers, many of whom were in prison without any means of support, while private fasts were kept among the devout to supplicate the removal of the judgments oppressing the Church.

Nor was this the only trouble. The Bishops were rapidly diminishing in numbers, and there was a consequent

* "Evelyn's Diary," ii. 126.

difficulty in providing for the succession. There was, indeed, a danger lest the superior order itself should perish, or at any rate be reduced so low as to give the Romanists the opportunity of inventing another “Nag’s Head Fable.” It was also found that the *congé d’ élire* could not be granted, and there were no Deans and Chapters to elect, but a happy expedient was discovered to consecrate Bishops to vacant Irish Sees, where the *congé d’ élire* was not used, and afterwards to translate them. There was besides great danger to the clergy for their loyalty, as the execution of Dr. Hewitt (in 1658) clearly proved. Nor did the death of Oliver Cromwell bring any relief to the persecuted clergy of the Church of England, for it was no gain to them that Richard, the new Protector, when he summoned the new Parliament, showed Presbyterian proclivities, if he had any religious opinions. With either of these bodies, anybody and anything, even the most immoral and licentious was tolerated except “Popery and Prelacy,” which were always in the popular mind linked together. That is to say, there was a tender regard for every Antinomian sect, but none for the time-honoured worship of the Church of England.

We cannot do better than conclude this chapter with the impartial remarks of Dr. Lingard, in his chapter on “The Commonwealth,” in his “History of England,” anent the action of these two bodies, and their religious intolerance. “During the late reign,” says this historian, “as long as the *Presbyterians* retained their ascendancy in Parliament, they enforced with all their power uniformity of worship and

* For the discussion of this subject see Author’s “Our Established Church: its History, Philosophy, Advantages, and Claims.” P. 575, Chapter viii (On the Anglican Ordinal).

doctrine. The clergy of the Established Church were ejected from their livings, and the professors of the (Roman) Catholic faith were condemned to forfeit two thirds of their property, or to abjure their religion. Nor was the proof of recusancy to depend, as formerly, on the slow process of presentation and conviction ; bare suspicion was held a sufficient ground for the sequestrator to seize his prey, and the complainant was told that he had the remedy in his own hands—he might take the oath of abjuration. When the *Independents* succeeded to the exercise of the supreme power, both the persecuted parties indulged a hope of more lenient treatment, and both were disappointed. The *Independents*, indeed, proclaimed themselves the champions of religious liberty. They repealed the statutes imposing penalties for absence from church, and they declared that men were free to serve God according to the dictates of conscience, yet their notions of conscience were very confined ; they refused to extend it either to Prelacy or Popery, to the services of the Church of England, or of the Church of Rome. The ejected clergymen were still excluded from the pulpit, and the (Roman) Catholics were still the victims of persecuting statutes. In 1650 an Act was passed offering to the discoverers of Priests and Jesuits, or of their receivers and abettors, the same reward as had been granted to the apprehension of highwaymen. Immediately officers and informers were employed in every direction ; the houses of (Roman) Catholics were broken open and searched at all hours of the day and night ; many clergymen were apprehended, and several were tried, and received judgment of death. Of these, only one, Peter Wright, chaplain to the Marquis of Winchester, suffered. The leaders shrank from the

odium of such sanguinary exhibitions, and transported the rest of the prisoners to the Continent.

“But if the zeal of the Independents was more sparing of blood than the Presbyterians, it was not inferior in point of rapacity. The ordinances for sequestration and forfeiture were executed with unrelenting severity. It is difficult to say which suffered from them most cruelly,—families with small fortunes, who were thus reduced to a state of penury ; or husbandmen, servants, mechanics, who, on their refusal to take the oath of abjuration, were deprived of two thirds of their scanty earnings, even of their household goods and wearing apparel. The sufferers ventured to solicit from Parliament such indulgence as might be thought ‘consistent with the public peace, and their comfortable subsistence in their native country.’ The petition was read. Sir Henry Vane spoke in its favour, but the house was deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, and the prayer for relief was indignantly rejected.”*

* Lingard’s “History of England,” Vol. viii, p. 195.

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## CHAPTER IV.

FULLER'S "COMMENT ON RUTH" (1654).

"Indeed they were preached in an eminent place when I first entered into the ministry, above twenty years since, and therefore you will pardon the many faults that may be found therein. Nor were they intended for public view, till understanding the resolution of some of my auditors to print them (to their profit but my prejudice) by their imperfect notes, I adventured on this seasonable prevention."—*Comment on Ruth* (Epistle dedicatory to the Right Worshipful the Lady Anne Archer, of the County of Warwick, a relation of the Author).

E have been led to make this digression, to give our reader some idea of the state of things in which our Divine lived, and the difficulties which surrounded him—one of the most memorable and unique in our History. It must be remembered that Fuller was as thorough a Royalist as any of those clergy who followed the fortunes of the exiled Royal Family in France, and he was as uncompromising a member of the Church of England as Cosin himself. If the background of our picture be somewhat touched in with lurid colours, it will only bring out more completely and prominently the marvellous figure of our gifted and venerable Divine, who, through good report and evil report, was enabled to combine, even in such anarchic times, the duties of a parish priest and city lecturer with the learned industry of the author and Divine. A man who could so steer his course between the

rival factions and fanaticism, avoiding the Scylla of political partisanship on the one hand, and the Charybdis of theological strife on the other, must certainly be credited with the soubriquet which he justly earned of "judicious." Nor must we suppose that there was any suppression of true principle, or keeping back the truth on his part, all this time. Fuller was no theological Halifax, or trimmer. He was a man who had the courage of his convictions, and spoke out the truth; and both friends and foes knew him to be loyal both to Church and King.

It was towards the end of the year 1653 that Fuller was induced by Williams and another publisher to edit some Parliamentary speeches and papers relating to the Session 1627-8 and 1628-9, which, as he says, "were fundamental to the history of our time, *i.e.*, of the Civil War period. It was the last for eleven years, so that it was the groundwork of contemporary history. The title was "*Ephemeris Parliamentaria, or a Faithful Register, 1654.*" The preface, which is signed T.F., is said to be one of the best ever written, and in it our author recommends the study of English History, especially relating to that of our own time, censuring those who "sharp-sighted abroad are little better than blinded at home: know the way from Paris to Lyons better than the way from London to York. A very preposterous knowledge, seeing history like unto good men's charity is (though not to end yet) to begin *at home*, and thence to make its methodical progress into foreign parts. Of all English History the greatest shame," he says, was to be "ignorant in the accidents of our own age." Then he goes on to give the reasons. "What by greatest error is falsely told of the Jews that they are always *crook-backed*, will be found most

true of the authors of this age: that they, *crook-sided*, warped and bowed, and bowed to the right or to the left: so hard will it be to find a straight, upright, and unbiased historian." Speaking of his own integrity in his work, he says, "I have had no occasion nor opportunity to express my own inclinations who have no commission to be an author, but a transcriber." Expressing a hope that all his readers may profit by the perusal, he says, "Such young folks whose short capacities as yet are unable to reach the policy and state part in these pieces, may better themselves by the very *language and expressions* therein."

This Parliament even then reflected the two leading parties of the age—those who upheld the Royal prerogative and those who took their stand on the subjects' liberties, the watchwords of the two hostile camps into which the nation was so soon to be divided. "The judicious reader will observe," he says, "that there was as yet less eagerness and more moderation in either party, matters not being then heightened with such mutual animosities as we beheld." Only such speeches as were set, studied, and pre-meditated are given, and copies of many of them were borrowed from the friends of the orators themselves. His judgment on these is given as follows: "Nor can any true patriot ever desire that men more honourable, more knowing, and able in all faculties of policy, law, and general learning; I may add also, more loving to or beloved of their countries ever should meet in Parliament: who hence may take their pattern of many worthy and excellent virtues in statists. But oh! let them far exceed this in happiness: the abrupt end whereof was the beginning of all our miseries."

He thus commends those, who, though no speakers yet

retrieved long debates by quick returns or short answers. “For sometimes a stiletto blow may give a more deep and deadly wound than the point and edge of the sharpest sword, which requireth more time and room for the managing thereof: yea, many a discreet gentleman, who, after long traversing of matters, judiciously bestowed his *yea* or *nay* in the right scale, might return with satisfaction to his conscience that he had well deserved thereof.”

Carlyle makes mention of this work, as he came across one of Cromwell’s speeches, reported in it, in which he spoke of Dr. Alabaster’s (a friend of Fuller’s father) sermon as “preaching flat Popery at Paul’s Cross,” and recognising the preface as our author’s, remarks “Quaint old Fuller is a man of talent.” The *Ephemeris* was a very successful book, running through several editions in 1657-8 and 1660, under the new title of “The Sovereign’s Prerogative and the Subjects Privilege.” In a last edition our author’s name was omitted, but his motto inserted in its place: “Lege Historias, ne fias Historia.”

In June, 1654, appeared our author’s *Comment on the Book of Ruth*, being the substance of his sermons which he preached to his former congregation and parishioners at St. Benet’s, Cambridge. The public is much indebted to Mr. Nichols for his reprint of this work, and the loving, pains-taking care he so judiciously showed in making his selection and penning his few able, but valuable, remarks. In his preface he says, “Between the delivery of the lectures and their publication as a comment, the Government of England had undergone a radical change. And it is one, amongst many, proofs of Cromwell’s wide moderation that Fuller could thus openly retain the fervent expression of his

youthful loyalty, as when he recounts amongst special mercies the preservation of Charles on his trip to Spain. There was a certain amount of courage in printing such a passage as the following, which, however palatable to the heads of Church and State, when originally delivered, might easily have given offence to a powerful party under the Protectorate: “With regard to some, who leap from the loom to the pulpit, I must confess an ass’s head was good food in a famine: coarse meat is dainty when no better can be had. But now,” &c. That there was in Fuller’s day the same difficulty as in our’s, in dealing with the poor so as to damage neither justice nor charity, is evident from the following aspiration, in which we of two centuries later can heartily join. “Would all poor and impotent were well placed in a hospital; all poor and able well disposed in a workhouse, and the common stocks of towns so laid out as they thereby might be employed.” Just below this quotation occurs proof of the antiquity and respectability of a word which is now regarded as close upon the confines of “slang,” and as suited chiefly for records of foot and boat races. “After a *spurt* in their calling for some few hours they relapse again to laziness.” The work, which is a comment on the two first chapters of the book of Ruth, is dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Lady Anne Archer, of the county of Warwick, in which he says, “Indeed they were preached in an eminent place, when I first entered into the ministry, above twenty years since, and therefore you will find the many faults that may be found therein. Nor were they intended for public view, till, understanding the resolution of some of my auditors to print them (to their profit, but my prejudice) by their imperfect notes, I adventured on

this seasonable prevention." Mr. Nichols observes of this unfinished comment, "Why Fuller did not proceed to draw quaint lessons of wisdom and piety from each line of the last two chapters of Ruth we are not informed. It may be that his course of lectures was taken off by fresh preferment in the Church, with a corresponding increase of duties. That he was not deterred by any difficulties in the third chapter is obvious from the skill with which he handled the previous two: not forcing his meaning, as was the wont of many of his contemporaries, but with ready ease pressing choice wine from the ripe fruit of each phrase of the text." (P. 178).

Referring to the authorship of the book, our Divine says: "The author's name (probably Samuel) is concealed, neither is it needful it should be known; for even as a man that hath a piece of gold that he knows to be weight, and sees it stamped with the king's image, careth not to know the name of that man who minted or coined it: so we, seeing this book to have the superscription of Cæsar, the stamp of the Holy Spirit, need not be curious to know who was the penman thereof."

The work is arranged upon the basis of a kind of Socratic method. The text is first quoted, then leading questions are asked; and upon the answers are founded lessons under the heads of *Use*, *Rules*, and *Observation*; sometimes arranged under the different heads. This mode of treating a subject is both lively and helpful, and carries the reader on with a delightful sense of freshness; at the same time, mines of the richest thought and deepest experience are being perpetually opened to his enraptured gaze.

Speaking of foreign travel, Fuller says it is lawful for (1) merchants ; (2) for ambassadors ; (3) for private persons, that travel with an intent to accomplish themselves with a better sufficiency to serve their king and country. “ But unlawful is it for such to travel which, Dinah-like, go only to see the customs of several countries, and make themselves the lackeys to their own humorous curiosity. Hence cometh it to pass, when they return, it is justly questionable whether their clothes be disguised with more foolish fashions, or bodies disabled with more loathsome diseases, or souls defiled with more notorious vices : having learned jealousy from the Italian, pride from the Spaniard, lasciviousness from the French, drunkenness from the Dutch. And yet what need they go far to learn so bad a lesson, when (God knows) we have too many schools where it is taught here at home ? ”

Speaking of the Pilgrim Fathers, and other colonists of the American continent, he says : “ Now if any do demand of me my opinion concerning our brethren which of late have left this kingdom to advance a plantation in New England ; surely I think, as St. Paul said concerning virgins, he had ‘ received no commandment from the Lord ’ : so I cannot find any just warrant to encourage men to undertake this removal : but think rather the counsel best that King Joash prescribed to Amaziah, ‘ Tarry at home.’ Yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from me to conceive them to be such to whom we may not say ‘ God speed,’ as it is 2 John, verse 10 : but let us pity them, and pray for them ; for sure they have no need of our mocks, which I am afraid have too much of their own miseries. I conclude therefore of the two Englands, what

our Saviour saith of the two wines (Luke v. 39), ‘No man, having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new; for he saith, the old is better.’”

Our Divine hath pertinent remarks on the death of the old and young. Speaking of the death of Elimelech, Naomi’s husband, he says: “I have seldom seen a tree thrive that hath been transplanted when it was old. The same may be seen of Elimelech: his aged body brooks not the foreign air: though he could avoid the arrows of Famine in Israel, yet he could not shun the darts of Death in Moab: he that lived in a place of penury, must die in a land of plenty. Let none condemn Elimelech’s removal as unlawful, because of his sudden death: for those actions are not ungodly which are unsuccessful, nor those pious which are prosperous: seeing the lawfulness of an action is not to be gathered from the joyfulness of an event, but from the justness of the cause for which it was undertaken.

“OBSERVATION I.—Hence we observe, that God can easily frustrate our fairest hopes, and defeat our most probable projects, in making those places most dangerous which we account most safe and secure: causing death to meet us there, when we think furthest to fly from it.

“OBSERVATION II.—We see that no outward plenty can privilege us from death; the sand of our life runneth as fast, though the hour-glass be set in the sunshine of adversity, or in the gloomy shade of affliction.”

On the other hand, he thus speaks of the death of the young: “It was but even now that Elimelech was gone to bed: see, his sons would not sit long up after the father. Only here is the difference: he, like ripe fruit, fell down of

his own accord ; they, like green apples, were cudgelled off the tree.

“OBSERVATION.—Even young men in the prime of their age are subject to death. The sons of Jacob, when they came to the table of Joseph, sat down, the eldest according to his age, and the youngest according to his youth : but Death observes not this method : she takes not men in seniority, but sometimes sends them first to the burial that came last from the birth, and those that came last from the womb first to their winding-sheet. There were as many lambs and kids sacrificed in the Old Testament as goats and old sheep : but surely more there be that die in infancy and in youth, than of those that attain to old age. ‘Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,’ you whose joints are knit with sturdy sinews, whose veins are full of blood, whose arteries are flushed with spirits, whose bones are fraught with marrow : Obadiah-like, serve God from your youth : put not the day of death far from you : think not your strength to be armour of proof against the darts of Death, when you see the corslet of Mahlon and Chilion shot through in the left ; so Mahlon and Chilion died, *both* of them.”

Speaking of Purgatory with the Dead, our Divine says : “Much stress he layeth on that passage of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iii. 15, ‘He himself shall be saved yet so as by fire.’ ‘This place,’ saith Bellarmine, ‘is *locus utilissimus et difficilimus*, most profitable and most hard.’

“We answer, first in general. Seeing by the Jesuit’s confession it is so hard a place, it is utterly improbable that purgatory (being of so high concernment to every soul as Papists would persuade us) can be therein intended : for all

matters necessary for men to know and believe, wherein the safety of every single soul is interested (such as purgatory is pretended to be), is, by the confession of all divines, expressed in plain and pregnant texts of Scripture : for want whereof Bellarmine is fain to shroud and shelter himself under the most obscure places, alleging a text most dark and difficult, by his own confession.

“Secondly. That ‘fire’ there meant by St. Paul is affliction in this life. As for such Fathers who expounded it *de igne conflagrationis*, of that fire which should burn up all things at the end of the world, it makes nothing for the patronizing of purgatory, in the Popish notion thereof.”

On the words, “For I am too old to have a husband,” he says : “Here ariseth a question. Is there any age so old wherein a man or woman may not marry ? Answer. Naomi’s meaning was not simply and absolutely that she was too old to marry, but she was too old to have a husband, and by a husband, to have children, and that those children should grow up, and make fit husbands for Orpah and Ruth. Yet, by the way, I would advise such who are stricken in years, especially if impotency be added unto age, and that it may stand with their conveniency, to refrain from all thoughts of a second marriage, and to expect that happy day when death shall solemnize the nuptial betwixt their soul and their Saviour. For when Barzillai hath counted eighty years, he hath even had enough of the pleasure and vanity of the world ; let him retire himself to a private life, and not envy his son Chimham to succeed to those delights, of which his age hath made his father incapable. Yet if any ancient persons, for their mutual comfort and society (which is not the least end for which

marriage was ordained) are disposed to match themselves herein, they are blameless; especially if they have a care to observe a correspondency of age with those to whom they link themselves. Otherwise, as our Saviour noteth, when the old cloth was joined to the new, it made no good medley, but the rent was made the worse: so when the spring of youth is wedded to the winter of age, no true comfort can arise from such unequal yokes, but much jealousy and suspicion are caused from the same."

On the backsliding, or rather apostacy of Orpah, our Divine speaks of the gift of final perseverance, to obtain which we must observe four rules:

"*First.* Utterly renounce all sufficiency in thyself. Who but a madman wilt now-a-days warrant the paper shields of his own strength, that knows that Adam's complete armour of original integrity was shot through in Paradise?

"*RULE II.—Secondly.* Place all thy confidence on the undeserved mercy of God. Perseverance cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor yet from the south; but God suffereth one to fall and holdeth up another. The temple of Solomon had two pillars: one called *Jachin*, sounding in Hebrew 'The Lord will establish'; the other *Boaz*, signified 'In Him is strength.' So every Christian ('the temple of the Holy Ghost') is principally holden up by these two pillars—God's *power* and *will*—to support him. Wherefore in every distress let us cry out to God, as the disciples did to our Saviour in the midst of the tempest, 'Help, Master, or else we perish.'

"*RULE III.—Thirdly.* Use all those means which God hath chalked out for increase of grace in thee: as prayer

meditation, reverent receiving the Sacraments, accompanying with God's children, reading, hearing the Word.

“ RULE IV.—*Fourthly.* Always preserve in thyself an awful fear, lest thou shouldst fall away from God: Fear to fall, and Assurance to stand, are two sisters; and though Cain said he was his ‘brother’s keeper,’ sure I am that then Fear doth watch and guard her sister Assurance. *Tantus est gradus certitudinis quantus sollicitudinis*—they that have much of this fear, have much certainty; they that have little, little certainty; they that have none have none at all. It is said in building, that those chimneys which shake most, and give way to the wind, will stand the longest: the moral in divinity is true; those Christians that shiver for fear by sins to fall away, may be observed most courageous to persist in piety.”

Speaking of the force of example in Naomi’s referring back to Orpah’s example, Fuller says, “When we see any good example propounded to us, let us strive with all possible speed to imitate it. What a deal of stir there is in the world for civil precedence and priority! Everyone desires to march in the fore-front, and thinks it a shame to come lagging in the rearward. O that there were such a holy ambition and heavenly emulation in our hearts, that as Peter and John ran a race, which should come first to the grave of our Saviour, so men would contend who should first attain to true mortification. And when we see a good example set before us, let us imitate it, though it be in one who in outward respect is far our inferior. Shall not the Master be ashamed to see that his man, whose place on earth is to come behind him, in piety towards heaven, goes before him. Shall not the husband blush to see his wife,

which is the weaker vessel in nature, to be the stronger vessel in grace. Shall not the elder brother dye his cheeks with the colour of virtue, to see his younger brother, who was last born, first re-born by faith and the Holy Ghost ! Yet let him not, therefore, envy his brother, as Cain did Abel ; let him not be angry with his brother, but let him be angry with himself because he is worse than his brother ; let him turn all his malice into imitation, all his fretting of him into following of him ; say unto him, as Gehazi did of Naaman, ‘As the Lord liveth I will run after him.’ And though thou canst not over-run him, nor as yet overtake him, yet give not over to run with him, follow him, though not as Asahel did Abner—hard at the heels, yet as Peter did our Saviour, ‘afar off,’ that though he move slowly, yet as surely thou mayest come to heaven : and though thou went short of him, whilst he lived, in the race, yet thou shalt be even with him when thou art dead, at the mark.”

On the words, “And there will I be buried,” our Divine says, “As it is good to enjoy the company of the godly, while they are living, so it is not amiss, if it will stand with conveniency, to be buried with them after death. The old prophets’ bones escaped a burning by being buried with the other prophets, and the man who was tumbled into the grave of Elisha was revived by the virtue of his bones ; and we read in the ‘Acts and Monuments,’ that the body of Peter Martyr’s wife was buried in a dunghill ; but afterwards being taken up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was honourably buried in Oxford, in the grave of one Frideswick, a Popish she-saint ; to this end, that if Popery, which God forbid, should overspread our kingdom again, and if the Papists should go about to untomb Peter Martyr’s wife’s bones,

they should be puzzled to distinguish betwixt this woman's body and the relics of their saint. So, good it is sometimes to be buried with those whom some do account pious, though perchance, in very deed, they be not so."

Referring to the affecting on woman's part of a *masculine style of dress*, our Divine remarks : "We see many women so strangely disguised with fantastic fashions, as if they desired to verify the nickname of the philosopher, and to prove themselves in very deed to be very monsters. Yea, many of them so affect man-like clothes and shorn hair, it is hard to discover the sex of a woman through the attire of a man. But we see in my text worthy Ruth taking upon her not the clothes, but the courage ; not the hair, but the heart ; not the attire, but the resolution of a man ; yea, and more than a man. Witness her worthy speech, 'Entreat me not to depart,' &c.

Fuller thus observes on the use of *names*, and their signification : "That they might be stirred up to verify the meanings and significations of their names. Wherefore let every Obadiah strive to be 'a servant of God,' each Nathaniel to be a 'gift of God;' Onesimus, to be 'profitable'; every Roger 'quiet and peaceable'; Robert, 'famous for counsel'; and William, 'a help and defence' to many; not like Absalom, who was not a 'father of peace,' as his name doth import, but a son of sedition; and Diotrephes, not 'nursed by God,' as his name sounds, but puffed up by the Devil." (John iii. 9.) That they might be incited to imitate the virtues of those worthy persons, who formerly have been bearers and owners of their names. Let all Abrahams be faithful, Isaacs quiet, Jacobs painful, Josephs chaste, every Lewis pious, Edward confessor of the true faith ; William,

conqueror over his own corruptions ; let them also carefully avoid those sins for which the bearers of the name stand branded to posterity. Let every Jonah beware of frowardness, Thomas of distrustfulness, Martha of worldliness, Mary of wantonness. If there be two of our names, one exceedingly good, the other notoriously evil, let us decline the vices of the one, and practise the virtues of the other. Let every Judas not follow Judas Iscariot, who betrayed our Saviour, but Judas, the brother of James, the writer of the general Epistle ; each Demetrius not follow him in the Acts who made silver shrines for Diana, but Demetrius, “who had a good report of all men” ; every Ignatius not imitate Ignatius Loyola, the lame father of blind obedience, but Ignatius the worthy martyr of the Primitive Church. And if it should chance through the indiscretion of parents and godfathers that a bad name should be imposed on any, O let not folly be with them, because Nabal is their name, but in such a case let them strive to falsify, disprove, and confute their names.

“ In the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a royal ship called ‘The Revenge,’ which having maintained a long fight against a fleet of the Spaniards (wherein eight hundred great shot were discharged against her) was at last fain to yield : but no sooner were her men gone out of her, and two hundred fresh Spaniards come into her, but she suddenly sunk them and herself, and so ‘The Revenge’ was revenged. Shall lifeless pieces of wood answer the name which impose upon them, (our Author does not use the word “christened,” as applied, so thoughtlessly given to a ship when named) and shall not reasonable souls do the same ? But of all names, I pray God that never just

occasion be given that we be christened ‘Ichabod,’ but that the glory may remain in our Israel as long as the faithful Witness endureth in Heaven.”

We should like to multiply quotations from this charming commentary, but one more must suffice, which is a portraiture of Ruth herself.

After speaking of the first “excellent grace” apparent in Ruth’s character, namely, *obedience* to her mother-in-law, Fuller proceeds to the second. “Secondly, see her *industry*, that she would condescend to glean. Though I think not with the Jewish Rabbins, that Ruth was the daughter to Eglon, King of Moab, yet no doubt she was descended of good parentage. Whence we may gather that those that formerly have had good birth and breeding, may afterwards be forced to make hard shifts to maintain themselves. Musculus was forced to work with a weaver, and afterwards was fain to delve in a ditch about the city of Strasburg, as Pantaleon in his life. Let this teach even those whose veins are washed with generous blood and arteries quickened with noble spirits, in their prosperity to furnish, qualify, and accommodate themselves with such gentle arts and liberal mysteries as will be neither blemish nor burthen to their birth : that so, if hereafter God shall cast them into poverty, these acts may stand them in some stead towards their maintenance and relief.”

We trust we have given our readers sufficient specimens to induce them to peruse this Comment for themselves ; should they do so, they will be reminded, as we have been, of the lines written on “Ruth” by a man of kindred genius, whose lot, being cast in a more mirth-loving age than Fuller’s, induced him to feed the public with lighter food

than our Author did, but whose powers were really as great in serious as in comic prose and verse.

“She stood breast high among the corn,  
Clasp’d by the golden light of morn :  
Like the sweetheart of the sun,  
Who many a glowing kiss had won.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thus she stood among the stooks,  
Praising God with sweetest looks.

‘Sure,’ I said, ‘Heaven did not mean  
Where I reap thou should’st but glean :  
Lay thy sheaf adown and come,  
Share my harvest and my home.’”

—*Works of Thomas Hood, 1862, vol. I. p. 336.*

To the regret of all Fuller’s readers and admirers, this beautiful Comment concludes at the end of the second chapter, the remaining two being unfortunately, to our great loss, left, as far as we know, unfinished.

Fuller, in 1654, published two sermons, being added to this volume, which are dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Newton, of Charlton, in Kent, with whose family our Author was very intimate, and before whom he had meant to preach them ; “the first for your forenoon’s, the latter for your afternoon’s repast.” But he preached the first, *Comfort in Calamity*, on a special occasion at St. Clement’s, East Cheap, taking for his text Ps. xi. 3, “If the foundations be cast down, what can the righteous do ?” “Counsel,” he says, “good in itself and good at this time,” and he sees in it (1) a sad case suppressed ; (2) a sad question propounded ; and (3) a sad answer implied. In this sermon he thus alludes to the times : “Come we now to that point which we conceive both pertinent to the text and profitable to our times,

namely, to give advice how people should behave themselves if God should for their sins condemn them to live in a time and place wherein the *Foundations of Religion* (so far as they are destroyable) should be destroyed.” “Be it here premised that nothing herein is spoken out of reflection to the present time, to fill the heads or hearts of people with jealousies of any design, as intended at the present, to blow up the foundations of religion. And yet give me leave to say, that some months since, had we gone on the same pace we began, a few steps further would have brought all to a sad condition: so that the Lawyers might even have drawn up the will of expiring Divinity, and the Divines performed the funerals of dying Law in this nation. But, blessed be God, since that time, confusion is confounded, and some hopes given of a better condition. In a word, if religion be no whit the nearer to the *making*, in all probability it is something the farther from the *undoing*” (pp. 26 and 27).

His next caution explains his own carriage as to the times. *Enter a Silent Protestation in the Court of Heaven of thine own integrity as to this particular. That thou hast not willingly consented to the destroying of the foundations of religion.* “Nothing,” he says, “is more difficult than in dangerous Times for Innocence itself to draw up a protestation with all due caution, so as to give her adversaries no advantage against her. If it be laid too low, the Protestor destroys his own innocence, and may be accessory to the robbing himself of his due, and so may die *felo-de-see* of his own integrity. If it be drawn up too high with swelling expression, the Protestor may expose himself to just censure as a Libeller against the authority before which he entereth

his protestation. We cannot therefore be too wary or too cautious in the making thereof to deserve the Golden Mean betwixt two extremes" (p. 29).

In this sermon, which is evidently tinctured with the regrets of the Author, is a remark, not without application to our day, in which so many think it enough to decide their judgments, to allege that this or the other excellent person is their precedent. "Secondly, we except such (from willing consenting) as have been fraudulently circumvented instrumentally to concur to the destroying of Foundations, even contrary to their own desires and interests, as erroneously conceiving they supported the foundations, when really they destroyed them. This commonly cometh to pass by *having men's persons in admiration* (Jude 16), so that possessed with the opinion of their piety, they deliver up the judgments as their *act and deed*, signed and sealed to them, to believe and practise, with denial, doubt, and delay, whatsoever the others shall prescribe" (p. 34).

Fuller's second counsel is yet more in accord with his principle. "*Keep up the destroyed foundations in thine own house.*" He finally reminds his hearers that notwithstanding that his Temple is profaned and unhallowed, levelled irredeemably to ordinary places, "God is not un-Loved, un-Templed," adding that "notwithstanding all wicked men's endeavours to destroy the foundations, the Lord is in His Holy Temple" (p. 43).

The second sermon entitled "The Grand Assizes, minding to do well," had been preached at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge (probably an Assize sermon), and is from Rev. xx. 12, And the books were opened." Our Preacher sees in the first five doctrines; (1) God writes down and

records all actions of men on earth ; (2) Actions thus written are not trusted in loose paper, but bound up ; (3) Actions thus bound up amount not only to one, but many books ; (4) Books thus made are not presently opened, but for a time kept secret and concealed ; (5) Books thus concealed shall not be concealed for ever, but in due time shall be opened.

This is the sermon, which according to its title page “Minds how to die well,” treats first of the doom of heathens, then of Christians.

“ This little treatise {for so it may be called, says Mr. Russell \*) discovers the reverence and holy modesty o its ingenious author ; his unwillingness to define and deide, where Scripture itself is silent, or where only proable reasons can be urged. He condemns that false an immodest fear which some evince of not vindicating *all* the ways of God to *sight*, a fear, in short, lest God shold be unjust. Such, he says, are ‘jealous over God with anunholo jealousy, fearing where no fear is, and it proceedeth from a principle of Atheism, seeing it springeth from the same root, to deny a God, and to doubt that God will appear just in manifesting His own proceeding.’ ”

After a notice of the heathen, anything but disparaging, Fuller concludes that “ yet even the best of the, in the strictest of God’s justice, may be condemned when the books are opened. For, grant that in some particular actions they may be said morally to superercate, yet in other things they were defective, and fell short of the just measure of God’s commands, according to the *moral light*

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\* “Memorials,” p. 208.

manifested into them." "Had *pride* been the weapon whereat a duel had been fought betwixt Alexander and Diogenes, probably the conqueror of the world had been worsted by a poor philosopher." "Who hath more golden sentences than Seneca against the contempt of gold? Yet (if Tacitus and others his contemporaries, may be credited) none more rich, none more covetous than he: as if out of design he had persuaded others to cast away their money, that he himself might come and gather it up again." He concludes, then, in the following page: "They are left under the wrath of God, and weight of their sin, and without any ordinary way to a Saviour."

"I say *ordinary*. I confess it is a *Gospel-truth* that in the Name of Jesus only salvation is to be expected, and it is a maxim no less sound than generally received, *extra Ecclesiam nulla salus: out of God's Church no hope to be saved*, if both be confined to *common dispensations* and the regular known way of God's manifesting Himself. But how far forth it might please God to reveal Christ to such heathens on their death-beds, by peculiar favour, out of the road of his *common kindness*, and how far forth God, as an *universal Creator*, may be pleased to indulge unto some eminent *heathen persons*, is curious to enquire, and impossible to determine. Leave we them to stand or fall to their own Master, only adding this, that it will be far better at the last day of judgment for these *Christian-Pagans*, as we may term them, than for many Pagan-Christians amongst us now-a-days, who are worse under the sunshine of grace in the Gospel, than they by the dim candle-light of nature."

"Come we now to Christians, where the difficulty is less to prove, that they all shall be arraigned, and may justly be

condemned, when the books are opened, which will plainly appear on the serious perusal of the following particulars :—

“First, that to all persons living within the pale of the Church, Christ hath really and cordially *sine foco et dolo*, without any fraud or deceit, been tendered unto them under the condition of faith and repentance, *that whosoever believeth on Him should have everlasting life*, and this will appear *when the books shall be opened*.

“Secondly, that even the worst of men living under the *light* of the *Gospel*, have at one time or another their heads filled with good motions ; Grace illuminating, wooing and courting them, as I may say, to lay hold on God in His promises ; on the truth whereof their own consciences will be deposed ; and so this will appear *when the books are opened*.

“Thirdly, that God standeth ready, on man’s good improvement of the aforesaid *illuminating grace*, though not for the merit of man’s performances, but for his own mere mercy and promise sake to crown their endeavours with the addition and accession of farther *degrees of Grace*, even such as infallibly *accompany salvation*. For I shall never be of their opinions, who parallel God’s proceedings with Adonibezek (*Judges i. 7*) who put seventy kings under his table, there to gather up crumbs which probably did very plentifully fall down unto them ; whereas, he before-hand had taken order that their thumbs were cut off ; their thumbs, I say, which alone of all fingers are of the Quorum, to the gathering or grasping of anything, and whose effectual correspondence with the rest of the hand is absolutely necessary to the taking up of any small thing, especially if lying *in piano* on a floor or flat place. I say I must depart from

those who make God such a tyrant, as sportively and spitefully to proffer grace to wretched men, when by a *previous act*, without any fault or refusal of theirs, He hath rendered them incapable of the acceptance of that which He offereth unto them. No, surely, God doth no way before-hand maim or disable them from enjoying the benefit of grace tendered unto them ; but on the other side is prepared to increase their store, and add to them, which use the utmost of their power to increase those talents which they have already received. And this shall appear to be true *when the books shall be opened.*

“ Fourthly, no man hath made that improvement of grace offered which he ought and might. Many a time he hath stayed at home when he should have been at church, many times he hath been at church, either sleeping or not attending there, many a time he hath attended, yet afterwards forgotten what he heard, many times he hath remembered it, and it hath been his *remembrancer*, yet he hath quenched the *heat* in his *heart*, and the *light* in his understanding. And all this will appear true, *when the books shall be opened.*

“ Fifthly, upon our not improving God’s grace offered us in His Word, God *qui non deserit nisi deseratur*, Who leaves none except He is first left by them, is not bound to add more *grace* : yea, He may justly withdraw what He hath given ; and which is more, may judicially harden those from whom His grace is withdrawn, for making no better use when tendered unto them, and all this shall appear, *when the books shall be opened.*

“ In a word, the transactions of that day will be a perfect comment on those words of the Prophet Hosea (xiii. 9), *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thine help.*

All such who are condemned shall cast the blame thereof on themselves, whilst those whom God shall be pleased to save will in their consciences confess they might most justly be damned *when the books shall be opened*. And seeing a *Saviour* hath by His death purchased for them *repentance, faith, and perseverance* to the end (because He would not trust this perverse freedom of their will with the acceptance or refusal of grace, they shall for ever sing *hallelujahs* to the praise of the undeserved mercy and goodness of God in their salvation” (pp. 62-7).

Fuller, in this discourse, makes mention of the venerable Judge Doddridge. “There was lately a judge in England whom I need not be ashamed to name, as the honour of his robe and profession, namely, Justice Doddridge, whom they commonly called the sleeping Judge. Indeed he had an affected drowsy posture on the bench, insomuch that many persons unacquainted with his custom therein, having causes of concernment to be tried before him, have even given all for lost, as expecting no justice from a dormant judge; when he all the while did only retire himself within himself, to consult with his own soul about the validity of what was alleged and proved unto him, as appeared afterwards by those oracles of law which he pronounced.”

Finally, at the conclusion of this sermon, the unfeigned piety and practical spirit of the preacher are exemplified in his warning against the commission of what men term *small sins* (p. 73).

## CHAPTER V.

FULLER'S INFANTS ADVOCATE (1653).

"Great is the multitude of pleaders which have undertook this cause, but the *counsel* cannot agree amongst themselves how to manage their *client's* cause."—*Infants Advocate* (Address to Christian Reader.)

E mentioned in the last chapter that our Divine had re-appeared as a City lecturer, with many of his other *confrères* returning to the London pulpit about the same time, and it may be under similar circumstances, not without the connivance of the "powers that be." In this capacity he was welcomed back to his old pulpit by his former congregation at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, retaining that till Dr. Pearson's appointment in 1654-6, and we also noticed that he was in all probability lecturer at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. We now find him occupying another City pulpit in the same year, not hitherto noticed in connection with Fuller's career, viz., Mercers' Chapel, Ironmonger Lane, where our witty preacher was no stranger. In his *Church History* our author has a dedication to his patrons, "The Honourable Company of Mercers of London," where Fuller says it would be a sin of omission in him "so much obliged

to your Society” should no share of his work be allowed to them. Whether his obligation was due to his being a lecturer to the Company; or referred to their interest in the admission of his son John to St. Paul’s School cannot be ascertained. Fuller thought highly of this Society, which took precedence of all other Companies, and renewed his intercourse with them some six years afterwards.

Fuller had evidently got his name up as a popular preacher (we use the word in a good sense), and must have been often asked about to preach. Not that he neglected his home duties at Waltham and the responsibilities of his parochial cure of souls, responsibilities quite distinct from those of a lectureship, which might have been held with a parish. Such a “painful and pious” priest would not starve his own flock, and we may be quite sure either by himself or deputy the duties at Waltham were regularly and punctually performed. Besides, some of his lectures were delivered on week-days, principally Wednesdays and Saturdays, and his frequency in the metropolis caused for him the soubriquet in Contemporary notices as “an eminent London divine.” Be that as it may, we find him also occupying the pulpit of St. Botolph’s, Bishopsgate, either as lecturer or special preacher, where he preached a sermon which he published the following year, called *The Grand Assizes*, alluded to in our last chapter.

A short extract from this is given by Spencer in his κάινα καὶ πάλαι “Curious Inquisitors into God’s Secrets deservedly Punished”—(given p. 328 in the Appendix to Mr. Russell’s Memorials). It is considered that this extract of Spencer’s, which is somewhat different to Fuller’s own

rendering in his comment on *Ruth*, that it must have been either excerpted from another MS. of Fuller's, or taken down *vivâ voce*. We give our readers the excerpted passage in question : “ It is recorded of one Sir William Champney, in the reign of King Henry the Third, that living in Tower Street, London, he was the first man that ever builded a turret on the top of his house that he might the better overlook all his neighbours ; but it so happened that not long after he was struck blind, so that he which would see more than others, saw just nothing at all : a sad judgment. And thus it is just with God, when men of towering high thoughts must needs be prying into those *arcana Dei, the hidden secrets of God*, that they should be struck *blind* on the place, and come tumbling down in the midst of their so curious inquiry. At the Ascension of Christ, it is said that he was taken up in a cloud ; being entered into His presence chamber, a curtain, as it were, was drawn to hinder His disciples *gazing*, and our further *peeping* : yet for all that a man may be *pius pulsator*, though not *temerarius scrutator* : he may modestly knock at the counsel-door of God's secrets, but if he *enter* further, he may assure himself to be more bold than welcome.”

We have alluded in our last chapter to those interesting events which had lately taken place in Fuller's home, the birth of children—those *pignora cara* of conjugal affection ! The subject of Baptism was then being much discussed, so that we shall not be surprised to find our Divine coming forward as *Infants Advocate*—these sermons being a defence of the baptising of children. Its motto was “ Your little ones shall enter into covenant with the Lord your God.” Prominence had been given to this subject by the publication

of a work by Dr. Featly, called "The Dippers Dipt." Quite a controversy seems to have raged on this subject, which now-a-days is almost taken for granted. The Anabaptists were strong both in Waltham, and indeed all over the country ; one, John Tombes, being a very prolific writer on their side of the question. He had held a public discussion with Baxter, who afterwards published a *plain* Scripture *proof* of infant baptism. Many of the divines combated this Tombes, whose work, called *Anti-pædo Baptism*, does not seem to mention Fuller, although Antony Wood thinks it does. The ablest writer, however, on the side of infant baptism was Stephen Marshall, whose sermon, preached in 1644, on this subject is commended by Archbishop Lawrence as "a masterly defence of infant baptism upon the prevailing principles of the day against the Anabaptists." Fuller dedicated his little work to the Earl of Carlisle, his "most bountiful" patron, and to Right Hon. Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, "my noble parishioner." There is a second edition dedicated to his truly paternal friend, Matthew Gilly ; to his learned parishioner, Edward Palmer, former of Trinity College, "with all the rest of my loving parishioners in Waltham Holy Cross." He does not omit to mention the literary celebrity of the place, whence his own little work was sent forth, the introduction of Cranmer to Henry VII., the martyrologist's famous acts and monuments penned in this place, whose posterity was possessed of a considerable estate at Waltham (as we have seen before) in Fuller's time ; and the pious labours of Bishop Hall, of Exeter, most of whose books are dated from Waltham.

But it is clear from their dedications that Fuller originally

discussed the subject, in the form of sermons for his own pulpit in the Abbey, and it incidentally showed his thoughtful care for his parishioners, whom he would not starve, we may feel assured, while so bountifully feeding the press. The portrait-picture of his commanding his thoughts to his “dear hearers” as he literally “filled or occupied” the pulpit with his portly form, his intelligent beaming features, curly hair, and rubicund complexion, heightened, it may be, with his frequent peregrinations in the crisp Essex air, is a pleasing one. “What remains, dear parishioners, that I pray that my weak preaching may be powerful and profitable unto you, that you may do and suffer cheerfully according to the will of God. Remember the addition of the name of your parish, Holy Crosse; it matters not though *Crosse* be the surname, if *Holy* be the Christian name of our sufferings, whilst that God who sendeth them sanctifieth them unto us, which is the daily prayer of your unworthy pastor in Jesus Christ.” In the address to the “Christian Reader,” Fuller alludes to the attention the subject of infant baptism was then attracting. “Great,” says he, “is the multitude of pleaders who have undertook this cause,” but he regrets that “the *counsel* cannot agree among themselves how to manage their *client's* cause.” He further expresses his regret that they were not content to prefer and advance their own opinions, except also they decry and destroy, confute and confound the arguments of others.

The first chapter is of *Circumcision; what it was; on whom, by whom, and when to be administered; the penalty of wilful recusants therein.* Our author meets the objection, “If circumcision was a sacrament, was there not a neglect

in regard of the ratification of the covenant to females?" by the reply, that "though women were not formally, they were virtually circumcised in the males. What is done to the head, none will deny done to the body." Mr. Russell quotes Faber's work with approval on the Primitive doctrine of Regeneration : "Since females are incapable of circumcision, their case was specially provided for under the law; and they were dedicated to God, and admitted to covenant with Him, through the mediation of purification and sacrifice (Lev. xii. 5-8). Among the Jews the principle was reasonably understood to be, that in the summing up of God's people, the females, as helpmeets, were to be viewed as sub-included with the males."

Circumcision was administered, remarks Fuller, generally by the master of the family. We see that the head was the priest of the family in the patriarchal age. What may be called the patristic mystery of the eighth day, may be found in Mr. Faber's second book: "For no other reason must we believe that the circumcision of the children on the eighth day was divinely enjoined to the ancient Fathers, except to signify the regeneration that is in Christ: who, after the Sabbatical seventh day, during which He lay in the grave, delivered up an account of our offences; on the following day, that is, the eighth, rose again for our justification."

Fuller argues against the supposition of eternal wrath being the sentence of uncircumcised children, inasmuch as not they, but those who cause the neglect, were the *breakers of the Covenant*. We must remember that the Church predicates nothing about the condition of unbaptized children. Her silence doubtless speaks the language of hope

and charity. But she gives no uncertain sound about baptized children when she says in her Rubric, at the end of the office for Public Baptism, "It is certain by God's Word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." The second chapter is entitled "Circumcision considered as a seal of the Gospel covenant; and that spiritual graces were conveyed and confirmed thereby." Here he shows that the Abrahamic, Jewish, and Christian covenant are essentially one. Why, then, is the last called a *new* covenant? He answers, that is often in Scripture called new which is remembered, and especially if it is also more clearly unfolded; thus (John xiii. 34), our Lord calls that a new commandment which was nevertheless *from the beginning*, though latterly almost obliterated by man's vindictiveness. Christ consecrated for us *a new and living way* (Heb. x. 20). Yet it is the same with the prophet's old paths (Jer. vi. 16).

Nor was the covenant made with the Jews a mere covenant of works. In the second commandment we have mention of mercy. "Now *mercy* is a *shibboleth* which a covenant of works can never pronounce." As for Abraham, God promised to be a God to him (Gen. xvii. 7). This very phrase is a Gospel phrase. Parallel is the expression *God with us*. So St. Paul expounded it (Rom. iv. 11). But if the Abrahamic was a covenant of *faith* in the Old Testament, the *trusting* in God, so often set forth in the *Old*, is the same with faith in the *New* Testament. The Jews were no more entirely without spiritual, than the Christian without temporal promises (1 Tim. iv. 8).

The third chapter treats of the "several acceptations of the seed of Abraham in Scripture." In these are included

the proselytes—aliens by extraction, Jews by profession. The first of these was Abrahani's own household, not his children. Then the mixed multitude that went up with the Israelites out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 38), and afterwards the *Gibeonites* (Josh. ix. 27); also Rahab the Hittite, Ruth the Moabitess, Naaman the Syrian, and others.

The fourth chapter proves that “all visible members of the Jewish Church had a federal right to the sacraments” (John viii. 37; Rom. ix. 4; also 1 Cor. x. 2–4).

In the fifth chapter, the objection of the incapacity of infants to covenants is considered. This chapter is not without some deep subtleties, but our author well supports the acceptableness of the faith of parents in bringing their children to this sacrament, from the history of the poor man who was let down by cords into the place where our Saviour was; of whom it is recorded that *their faith* was regarded by our Lord (Matt. ix. 2).

The sixth chapter is entitled “Circumcision considered as a sign, and what mysteries were signified therein”—in one word, the circumcision of the heart; and the seventh proves that Baptism succeeds to all the essentials of circumcision. (See Col. ii. 11, 12.)

The eighth treats of “what it is to *reason out of the Scriptures*, and what credit is due to deductions from God's Word.” Here he argues well from our Lord's apparently far-fetched proof of the resurrection (Matt. xxii. 31, 32).

The ninth gives “the first reason for the baptizing of infants, taken from the analogy of circumcision.” I know not how the semblance of an objection can be alleged against this. Little less forcible is the second reason given

in the *tenth* chapter, and drawn from the birth-holiness of Christian infants (1 Cor. vii. 14).

The eleventh contains “*the third* reason, taken from the Holy Spirit which is given to little infants.” For the possibility of this was alleged (Jer. i. 5; Luke i. 43).

The twelfth adduces “*the fourth* reason, drawn from some degrees of faith conferred on little infants.” This is sought to be proved by Heb. xi. 6; and our Author also refers to St. Mark x. 14, of which he treats in the latter half of this chapter.

The *fifth* reason is drawn “from the malady of original corruption,” and for this reason he adduces Rom. vi. 3 and 6.

The *sixth* reason is drawn from the constant practice of Christian Churches in all ages; and this, which forms the fourteenth chapter, contains a brief dissertation on the credit due to primitive customs. Fuller argues that the promise, “Lo, I am with you alway, unto the end of the world,” is to be understood of the Church collectively, as an immortal corporation, that the Church shall not be suffered to be universally infected in all ages with any one dangerous error. Our Author not unseasonably enlarges upon 1 Cor. xi. 16.

He next proceeds to prove the antiquity and generality of infant baptism by the confession of Pelagius: his *tacit* confession, who doubtless would have denied its antiquity if he could, and who had abundant means and opportunities of information.

In the sixteenth chapter our Author answers “the grand objection drawn from the silence of Scripture herein.” He begins by reminding the objectors that a curse is denounced

upon such as take away from, as well as upon those who add to, the Scriptures. He then treats of the divine appointment of synagogues. Our Lord and His Apostles repaired to them. Yet where is the building of them expressly *enjoined* in Scripture? It is indeed implied in the due observance of the Sabbath, and to have neglected to worship in them would have been impiety.

The jailor was baptized, he and all his. But in the expression *all his*, compared with Job i. 12, children are included.

The seventeenth chapter answers the objection drawn from the inability of infants to repent and believe. After some curious speculations he retreats back to the impregnable position that this cannot be a bar to their covenanting in baptism, any more than it was a barrier to the Jewish children in the right of circumcision.

In the following chapter other objections are answered, and he prefers our version “Go and teach” to “Go and disciple all nations.”

The nineteenth chapter is thus entitled, “Whether the children of profane parents, bastards, exposed children, and the captive infants of Pagans are to be baptized”; a learned and ingenious chapter. Fuller last notices the modern origin of Anabaptism, which he derives from Walthasar Pacimontanus in the year 1527, and next from the modern Socinian in 1567. It is well, however, that in our age, in this *sifting* of the church, most of the controversies of Fuller’s time have been revived, and amongst other topics baptism has taken a conspicuous place. But the controversy is now well laid to rest, and the correlated terms used in connection with it better understood. The

sacrament of responsibility is now an accepted dogmatic fact, and regeneration is neither confounded with conversion, repentance, renovation, or renewal, which are distinct habitudes of thoughts, and different states of heart and life. Moreover, confirmation is better understood as the *complement* of baptism, the two forming one connected whole and completed sacrament. Repentance and faith—promised by their sureties—the Catechumens, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform ; the Church giving this reason ‘why infants are baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform the conditions.’”

Our Divine’s attention had been no doubt drawn to this subject, which led on to his public utterances by the prevalence of the tenets of the Anabaptists in his parish at Waltham, but the following quotation will show the kindly spirit, in which he met their polemical attitude, and controversial line of thought : “ But as for difference in affection, seeing we conceive your error, not such as intrencheth on Salvation (because not denying but conferring baptism), and only in the out-limbs (not vitals) of religion, wherein a latitude may and must be allowed to dissenting brethren, we desire that herein the measure of our love may be without measure unto you. Lightning often works wonders when it breaketh the sword, yet doth not so much as bruise the scabbard : Charity is a more heavenly fire, and therefore may be more miraculous in its operations. You shall see that our love to you, as it doth detest and desires to destroy your errors, so it will at the same time safely keep and preserve your erroneous persons.” And in conclusion : “ For mine own particular because I have been challenged (how justly God and my own conscience knoweth) for

some moroseness in my behaviour towards some dissenting brethren in my parish : this I do promise, and God giving me grace I will perform it. Suppose there be *one hundred* paces betwixt me and them in point of affection, I will go *ninety-nine* of them on condition they will stir the one odd pace, to give them an amicable meeting. But if the legs of their soul be so lame, or lazy, or sullen, as not to move that one pace towards our mutual love, we then must come to new propositions. Let them but promise to stand still and make good their station ; let them not go backward and be more embittered against me than they have been, and of the *hundred paces* in point of affection, God willing, I will go *twice fifty* to meet them. As for matter of judgment, I shall patiently and hopefully expect the performance of God's promise in my text, when to them who are otherwise minded in the matter of Infants' baptism, God will reveal even this to them. Amen."

But these Anabaptists were not the only persons who were a trouble to our Parish Priest. There were likewise, in Waltham, not a few followers of George Fox, the Quaker, who must have caused him much annoyance, and about whom he doesn't seem to have formed a very favourable opinion. Ministers were to this sect "Cains and Balaams and Dogs and Devils," and what he thought about their erroneous practices and their use of *thou* and *thee*, Fuller has plainly spoken out in his "Church History." *Thou*, from superior to inferior, is proper as a sign of command ; from equal to equal is passable as a sign of familiarity ; but from inferiors to superiors, if proceeding from ignorance, hath a smack of clownishness : if from affectation, a tang of contempt. Their appeal to Scripture is then combated,

adding a wish that they might seasonably be suppressed, intimating the possibility that “such as now use *thou* and *thee* will (if they can) expel *mine* and *thine*.”

It was twelve years after these lines were penned, and six after Fuller's death (1667) that George Fox, writing a lengthy answer to Muggleton's book on *The Quaker's Neck Broken*, appended also something in answer to Thomas Fuller, in his “Church History,” which he writes to Barron Brook, wherein he rayles against the Quakers. A quotation or two may be interesting as showing what Fox, the Quaker, thought of Fuller, the Divine:—

“*First*,” he saith, “they cast off their clothes, until the cold converteth them to more civility. *Ans.* : this doth not become Thomas to record lyes. For the people that in scorn are called *Quakers* it was not the cold that converteth them. And why dost thou not record Isaiah, and judge him that went naked and barefoot three years together, as one of them (thou in scorn callest *Quakers*) did, being moved of the Lord, which was a sign or figure of all your nakedness, and the rest of them?”

“*Secondly*. Thomas is offended because the people, which he in scorn calleth *Quakers*, say to one single person *Thee* and *Thou*. *Ans.* If Thomas had not shown himself ignorant of the Scriptures, and forgotten his accidence and grammar he learned (if any), he would have seen in the Scriptures, from the highest to the lowest, that the people of God used the word *thee* and *thou*. And if he had spoken *you* when he should have spoken *thou* in latine, his master would have gone near to have whipt him. And then Thomas falls a begging to the (then present) Powers, like unto the Jewes against the Apostles, ‘Help men of Israel!’”

to persecution, and Thomas his envy hath so choked him that he hath forgotten what is said in the Lord's Prayer, *thy* and *thou*. And he saith also because they used the word *thou* &c. ‘They speak evil against dignities, and against ordinances of God,’ &c., and saith ‘God grant that they may be seasonably suppressed.’ *Ans.* Here they envy, and malice is seen again, Balaam-like, for it was the language of the Righteous, and no man found fault with it, to Superior and Inferior (as *thou* and *thee*), and God's ordinances they do not deny. And whereas thou callest upon God for the suppressing of them who inventest lyes, and then criest for help against them. But the living God, whom we serve, hears not the prayers of the Persecutor nor Lyar. And Thomas saith, because they use the word *thou* to a Superior, ‘Here their Honours lye at the mercy of men's mouthes: so if they grow numerous, hereafter they will question the wealth of others, and condemn them for covetousness !’ *Ans.* If all Thomas his history be like this, and is worth little to be credited, who begged persecution of O. Cromwel, and when the king came in turned to his surplice. And if the honour due to Superiors lye in giving the word *you* to a single person, then thou mayest find fault with the Apostles and the Prophets, who said *thou* and *thee* to them: he did the Prophets, but why doth not Thomas find fault with the accidente and grammar, and with them that translated the Scriptures, which did translate them singular and plural. See the *Quaker's Battledore* given forth for you to learn in. *Ans.* As for your outward wealth we seek it not: but covetousness is reproved by the spirit of Truth. And whereas thou art afraid we should grow numerous: we tell thee that God will

spread His Truth abroad, and gather His Elect from the four corners of the earth. And the honour that all men are to be honoured withall, even Superiors, is not the word *you* to a single person, but to esteem every man, and those who rule well, to have double esteem, and this is the true honour, and such as do so will hurt no man. And Thomas is angry because they tremble at the Word of God ; he therefore shows his ignorance of the Scriptures, and of the holy men of God, and such as be regarded of the Lord, who saith, ‘This is the man I do regard, who is of a contrite and broken spirit, and trembleth at My word,’ as in Isaiah may be read. And thou art like the persecuting Jewes that despised them that trembled at God’s Word, but such the Lord often cuts off and shorteneth their days for the Elects’ sake.”\*

In striking contrast to the tone of the foregoing quotations we will now turn to a sermon, appended to the *Infants’ Advocate*, which shows the spirit in which Fuller dealt with the Dissenters. It is from the text (Phil. iii. 15), “If in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.” The title of the discourse is “How we ought to behave ourselves to those of a different judgment therein, in order to reclaim them,” and in the preacher’s best spirit, who averred, “I had rather subscribe, than engage in a controversy not worth contending for.” He alludes to the dissensions in the early Church “which ever since have been too truly copied out,” the words “with one accord” in the Acts of the Apostles being among Christians changed

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\* Quoted by Mr. Bailey from a pamphlet in possession of Mr. Taylor, of Northampton, p. 526.

to “with many discords.” The text, our preacher says, contained the unhappiness and happiness of the servants of God. The “doctrine” of the text was that godly men, as long as they live in the world, will dissent in many matters of religion. “The reason is because none run either *perfectly* or *equally* in this life. Not perfectly (1 Cor. xiii. 12) ‘Now we know in part.’ Not equally, for though men understand imperfectly in this life, yet if all understood equally imperfectly upon the supposition of equal ingenuousness to their ingenuity (that is, that they would readily embrace what appears true unto them) all would be of the same judgment. But alas ! as none sees clearly, so too scarce any see equally. ‘Some are thick-sighted, some short-sighted, some purblind, some half-blind, and the worst of them (blessed be God) better than stark blind. These different degrees of sight cause the difference of judgment amongst Christians. A sad instance we have hereof in the difference about the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. What, by Divine goodness, was intended and instituted to unite and conjoin Christians hath by man’s frailty and Satan’s subtlety been abused to make many rents and divisions —about the time when, the parties in whom, the manner how, baptism is to be administered. But where baptism had divided her thousands, the Lord’s Supper hath divided her ten thousands.”

Passing on to the question of additional revelations, which he says, are of two kinds. “One doth *revelare credenda*, reveal those things which we are to believe. The other doth make us *credere revelatis*, more quickly and firmly assent to what hath formerly been delivered in the Scriptures. The first sort are ceased in this age. As for the second, we may look

for them, pray for them, and labour for them, as which God hath promised to bestow, and which the godly daily receive." Speaking of the preparations of the heart, he says, "Say not all such preparations are useless. The Dove of the Spirit will not build in a nest of this making, but in one of her own providing." Advising his auditors on this head, and offering instructions to them who had abandoned their errors, he shows how Christians generally ought to give their assistance in reclaiming their brethren by not using "opprobrious language" or widening the wound betwixt us to make it worse than it is."\*

Among Fuller's literary associates about this time we must not omit that of his friend, Henry Lawes,

" Whose tuneful and well-measured song  
First taught our English music how to span  
Words, with just note and comment."

This musician's father was Vicar-Choral of Salisbury Cathedral, where our author held a Prebendall stall, and he may have become acquainted with him there. He became in 1625 "Epistoller" at the Royal Chapel, and Court musician to Charles I., and he lived to write the coronation anthem of Charles II. at the Restoration. Fuller, though he had an unmusical voice, evidently had a keen appreciation of music, and grumbled at the disfavour shown to it during the Interregnum. He descants in one of his works † on its sociableness, and its being the means of heightening devotion. Fortified with Hooker's defence of its ecclesiastical use, he has devoted a chapter to the subject in his

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\* Infants' Advocate, c. xxi. p. 1.

† Pisgah Sight, iii. 397.

“Worthies.” “Right glad I am,” says he, “that when music was lately shut out of our churches (on what default of hers I dare not enquire) it hath soon been harboured and welcomed in the halls, parlours, and chambers of the primest persons of this nation. Sure I am it could not enter in my head to surmise that music would have been so much discouraged by such who turned our kingdom into a Commonwealth, seeing they prided themselves in the arms thereof, an impaled harp being moiety of the same; and he thanked God that he had lived to see music come into request since the nation came ‘into right tune.’” And in the same spirit Shakespeare writes that the man who is insensible to music is not to be trusted, in those well-known lines from the Merchant of Venice :—

“The man that hath no music in himself,  
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils :  
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,  
And his affections dark as Erebus ;  
Let no such man be trusted.”—(*M. of V.*, v.)

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## CHAPTER VI.

## FULLER'S TRIPLE RECONCILER (1654).

"It is of a Peaceable nature, and desires to be a Peace-maker (Eirenicon) betwixt the opposite parties in the three Controversies handled therein. My humble request to you is, that with Noah you would be pleased to put forth your hand and receive it into the Ark of your protection."—(The Epistle Dedicatore to Right Hon. and Truly Virtuous Lady Anne, Viscountess Baltinglass).

**F**ULLER in his divinity endeavoured the *Via media*, and was known as a moderate man, avoiding extremes of all kinds. Applying Aristotle's principle of  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \mu\acute{e}r\sigma o v$ , he tried to bring all parties together, avoiding extremes and meeting in the mean, on the common basis of the old Historic Church of the country—that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church founded in this land, and reformed on true Catholic principles, namely, a bifurcated appeal to the Word of God, and, *i.e.* as interpreted by, Primitive antiquity. But by the word moderate we don't mean colourless, for Fuller held very definite views; nor by taking up a middle position do we insinuate that he was sceptically inclined, and cared for none of these things. Rather we should say that his creed was severely orthodox—scriptural, primitive, precise, logical, and dogmatical: and from first to last, through evil report and good report, he was a true son of his spiritual mother, the Church of England, in which he lived and died, and

the faith of his fathers was ever dear unto him, the precious deposit of primitive truth. He had no sympathy with Non-conformity, nor did he care either for the Presbyterian or Independent form of Church government. It is necessary to bear this in mind when contemplating our Author's related attitude to the controversies of the day, both in Church and State.

Fuller must have rightly earned the blessing of the peace-maker, and he now puts out his *εἰρηνικόν* or peace-maker, with the view of bringing parties together. In 1654 appeared his "Triple Reconciler," in which he handles some very delicate points of controversy and topics of interest in three tractates, with that moderation, based on Christian principles, which so eminently characterised their author. It is a bold little work, and does not flinch from stating truths, though unpalatable and unpopular, being printed for John Williams, at the Crown. It is dedicated to the Right Honourable and truly virtuous Lady Anne, Viscountess Baltinglass, a near relation of our Author's by his second marriage, in which he evinces the true Christian spirit. "This my book addresseth itself to you, as once the dove to Noah in the ark, bringing an olive branch with three sprigs in the mouth thereof: It is of a Peaceable nature, and desires to be a Peace-maker betwixt the opposite parties in the three controversies handled therein. I know what success commonly attends all umpires and arbitrators, that often they lose one, and sometimes both of their friends betwixt whom they intercede. Meek Moses could not escape in this kind, but when seeking to atone (reconcile) two striving Israelites, the parties who did the wrong fell with foul language upon him. I expect the like fate from that side which doth the most

injurie, and am prepared to undergo their censure, which I shall do with the greater alacritie if these my weak endeaours may find your favourable acceptance."

This "Triple Reconciler" states the controversies, whether :—

- (1). Ministers have an Exclusive power of Communicants from the Sacrament ?
- (2). Any persons Unordained may lawfully Preach ?
- (3). The Lord's Prayer ought not to be used by all Christians ?

It is evident the work was based on sermons, which he would have probably preached during the course of his ministry in guiding his hearers in some of the perplexities of the times. The first topic is founded on the text Leviticus xiii. 3, "And the priest shall look on him and pronounce him unclean," which is occupied with the description of Corporal leprosy, being interspersed with curious illustrations, and anent the then sanitary condition of London. In this our preacher alludes to a disease, which is the scourge of modern life and infects all great cities, being the outcome of the social evil. "But know as the Jews had a disease we have not" (Fuller says there were a few cases of leprosy in Cornwall, caused from the frequent eating of fish newly taken out of the sea), "so we have a disease the Jews had not: excuse me for naming it. You may easily conceive what I would willingly conceal. It is the *last rod that God made, therewith to whip wantonness*, and which He handselled on the *French at Naples*, two thousand miles from this place. How came this malady to climb and clamber over the high aspiring Alpes? when got into *France? England* being an island secured from the

diseases of the Continent, how came it to swim over into *England*? Did wicked Foreigners bring it hither, or wanton English fetch it thence? However it was so, it is, and is a disease so much worse than leprosie, as sin is worse than suffering, transgression worse than affliction."

After enumerating the *four elemental sects*—*Stoicks*, *Peripateticks*, *Academicks*, and *Epicures*, he says of himself that he was Eclectic. These Eclectics would not be bound to no one opinion that any of the other maintained, only they would be left at large to *pick* and *choose* what they conceived sound and solid. In a word, these *Eclectics* were the *Quintessence* of the former four sects of *Philosophers* (p. 13).

"I intend in like manner to be a chooser in this point. (Grant the difference betwixt a *chooser* and a *seeker* of our age; the former is *positive*, the latter *sceptical*, hovering over all, settling on nothing.) I know no reason that we are bound to take one and all in any persuasion. Three great interests may be named in *England*, one that was *Prelatical*, one that is the *Presbyterian*, one that would be *Independent*. I shall embrace what I shall find in any of their practices commendable and consonant to *God's Word*, making use of my *Christian liberty* to leave the rest which, in my weak judgment, may seem subject to just exception."

After conceding that "there is no pregnant place of Scripture which expressly empowereth the ministers of the Gospel with authority of *examination and exclusion from the Sacrament*," he thus decides the first question. "There are some places of Scripture, which by proportion and consequence do more than probably insinuate such a power in

the minister. First, for examining: ‘*Obey them that have the rule over you, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you.*’ (Heb.xiii. 17.) God foreseeing that in after ages the minister in a Church might be but one, the parishioners many, *he perchance poor, they rich, he possibly young, they grave and ancient,* saw there would be an humour of opposition in them to submit to their *Pastour*, and therefore thought it necessary to leave this command on record. Now, the best *auditour* cannot give an account of them whose receipts and expenses he hath not examined, and therefore by consequence it may be collected that they may and must try the conditions and abilities of their people, ‘*Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds.*’” (Prov. xxvii. 23.)

“Secondly, for *Excluding*, where be it premised that if an *Examining power* can be demonstrated in the *Ministers*, a power of Exclusion doth by necessary and undeniable consequences follow thereupon. For the *Minister’s Examination* would be altogether useless, if such, who thereby shall be detected unfitting or unworthy, may, in defiance of the *Minister*, intrude themselves *Communicants* to the *Sacrament*. If, therefore, the *Minister’s Examination* be as a *weapon* without an edge, and be onely to make a noise without any further power, it would render him ridiculous to *prophane persons*, and expose his *pains* and *professions* to contempt. Surely, therefore, his *Examination* is seconded and attended with authority to *admit* and *exclude* from the *Sacrament*, as he findeth persons fit or unfit for the same.”

After giving a list of those who are, from the nature of the case, practically excommunicated, he excludes also

“persons virtually *excommunicated*, by whom I understand such who wallow in a notorious sin, excommunicable in itself, though the sentence be not solemnly passed upon them. I say *notorious sin*. Blessed be God, surreptitious sins of infirmity do not render us incapable of the Sacrament. If they did, God’s Table would stand utterly unfurnished, without any either to Administer or Receive those holy Mysteries.

“Now sins must be notorious two manner of ways :  
1. *Quoad naturam*. 2. *Quoad notitiam*.

“First, *Quoad naturam*, the sin being horrible and hainous in its own nature ; such a sin as is not only mortal, as all sins are, but *mortaliterum*, if God’s mercy doth not interpose : an enumeration whereof is needless, as generally known (p. 21).

“By the way, there is a notorious sin in the nature thereof, which notwithstanding, in defiance of opposition, forceth his access unto the Sacrament, namely, the *sin of oppression*. How great this is, doth appear by the wisdom of *Solomon* (Eccles. vii. 7), ‘*Oppression maketh a wise man mad*’ : that is, wise men, being oppressed above their strength, to comport therewith oft-times break forth into *mad extravagancies*. Now, having formerly shewed how Madmen are to be prohibited the Communion, *quod efficit tale, magis est tale, What makes so, is more so*, Oppression sure ought not to receive. But alas ! in all ages, such their power, that, if pleased, they will command their own passage to the Communion in spite of the Minister’s opposition, God alone being able to punish their presumption therein.

“Secondly. The sin must be notorious, *quoad notitiam*, so that general cognizance must be taken thereof, to the

*public scandal of the Congregation.* If it be done in a corner, known to few, no pregnant proof nor publick appearance thereof, the admission of such an offender is so far from being offensive to the Church, that the exclusion of him will rather be scandalous. But when notice of the fault is arrived at many, and the noyse thereof at more, amounting to a considerable part of the congregation, either in qualitie or number, there lyeth a just prohibition against the receiving of such an offender.

“ This liberty was allowed the ministers under the Episcopacie by the words of the Rubrick, ‘ And if any of those be an open notorious liver,’ etc. Now because only sins notorious, *quoad notitiam*, disable a Communicant from the receiving of the Sacrament. Hence it is that *Hypocrites* in all ages will repair thither in despight of the greatest caution. Let the *Lord’s board* be raled about never so high, never so low, never so close, yet Hypocrisie will either climb over it, or creep under it, or wind itself through it. The *black devil* may, the *white devil* never will be kept out of Christian Congregations.

“ Young people, be they never so great or gracious, are at first to be examined by the *Minister* before admitted to the *Sacrament*. Most noble *Theophilus* may be an instance hereof (Luke i. 4), ‘ That thou mayest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed,’ i.e., *catechised*. And although it appears not in the text that such *catechising* of him was done by the *minister*, yet it is easie to prove out of *primitive antiquitie*, that *Catechumeni* was a degree of young Christian *Candidates* for the *Sacrament*.”

After pointing out the line such questions should take—vital, not frivolous—he says: “ I speak it upon the complaint

of those (whose report with me is above exception), how many difficult yet frivolous questions have been propounded unto them : as, What God did before He created the world ? Where the soul of Lazarus was in the three days interval, whilst his body laid in the grave ? A question which he who propounded it, I believe, was as ignorant of as the party to whom it was propounded. Others have been too *stern* and *morose* in not accepting true and pertinent answers, if not coming up to the very top of what was demanded. Thus, when one was asked what God was, the party no less modestly than truly replied, ‘*God is a Spirit*,’ to whom the *Minister* returned, ‘And so is the Devil too,’ enough to dash and daunt a *softly spirit*, which rather deserved encouragement. It is reported of *Bishop Hooper*, that *worthy Martyr* in the days of Queen Mary (and a *Cartwright* before Mr. *Cartwright*, I mean the *great patron of non-Conformists*), that when an honest citizen in a conflict of conscience came to his door for *Counsel*, being abashed at his *austere behaviour*, he durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy for his *troubled mind* at other men’s hands.”

Again he says : “Such who once have been admitted by the *Minister* to the Communion, are not afterwards to be excluded the same, except since their first admission they may be challenged of some notorious *defection from the faith or corruption in manners*.” He then condemns those who are too remiss in regard of admitting persons to communicate, “requiring no more than a general profession of Christianity, a reverend posture of the body, and a hand reached out to receive. That makes the Lord’s table a Pandotheon, an *Inne* to entertain all, and *Christ* to keep

*open house* at the *Sacrament*: and yet we may observe a great difference between the place of *Christ* preaching and administering the *Sacrament*. He preached often *sub dio*, *in the open air*, when nothing confined His voice but His voice. But when He administered the *Sacrament* to some select persons, then He made choice of an *upper chamber*, *trimmed and prepared, purposely made ready for them*, of far less latitude, and receipt as capable, only of the company intended present at that exercise." He then proceeds to the case of Judas.

"The maintainers of this opinion of *promiscuous Communions* proceed upon a double error: first, on the example of *Judas*, one of the worst of men, yet not thought bad enough by *Christ* Himself to be excluded the *Sacrament*. Here they take that for decided which is disputed, that for concluded which is controverted: *adhuc sub judice lis est*, it hangeth as yet on the file, and the number and worth of ancient Writers on the negative, are almost even with those which affirm his receiving. But suppose he did receive the *Sacrament* (which in my particular opinion I do believe), it maketh nothing for the advantage of those which urge it in this behalf.

"For, first, *Judas* was compleatly qualified for a *Communicant*; first, with *knowledge*, whereof he had too much, except he used it better, whose *eminent parts* were like unto those *torches* and *lanthorns*, abused by him to apprehend and betray our *Saviour*. Secondly, with such *seeming holiness*, that none of his *Fellow disciples* could detect, or did suspect him for unfaithfulness: else needless had the question been of *John* to *Christ*, '*Lord, who is it?*' (*John* xiii. 25), had he not carried it so cunningly that

no common jealousy centred on him as a *Traitor in intention.*

OBJECT.—“*Christ as God* knew *Judas* to be a *Hipocrite* and *Devil*, and yet He would not denie him the *Sacrament*, to show that the worst and wickedest men may be admitted.

ANSWER.—“Indeed, as God, He knew it, but it is questionable whether He communicated this knowledge to His humanity. And if so, yet He might not be pleased to take notice thereof at the instant of Instituting the *Sacrament*; because therein Christ would do nothing but what should be precedental to posteritie to imitate: as intending that mere men should afterwards follow Him in the *Ministerie*.

“The second false principle upon which the *Patrons of Promiscuous communions* proceed upon is this, that the *Lord's Supper* is as well a *converting* as a *confirming ordinance.*” To which he replies, that those who come “not qualified for *communicants* cannot expect converting from the *Sacrament*, because they break the Word of God in appearing here.”

Fuller then proceeds to discuss the over-strictness of the way of the Presbyterians, who refused the communion to those who would not submit to an examination before each celebration, and he thus declares his mind about the ecclesiastical state of affairs: “Here let none think that out of a spirit of frowardness I will fully oppose their opinions, or that out of anger or discontent I may favour some modern licencious extravagancies. I remember a story of the *Lady Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk*, which may be applied to my occasion. When every lady at the entertainment was to choose whom she loved best,

and so place themselves, the *Duchess*, because not allowed to choose her own *husband* (as against the laws of the Feast), took Stephen Gardiner by the hand, whom she perfectly hated, with these words, ‘*If I may not sit down with him whom I love best, I have chosen him whom I love worst.*’” (Fox, *Acts and Mon.*, p. 2079.)

“Not to dissemble in the sight of God and man, I do ingenuously protest that I affect the *Episcopal Government* (as it was constituted in itself, abating some corruption which time hath contracted) best of any other, as conceiving it most consonant to the Word of God and practice of the *Primitive Church*. But seeing it hath pleased God to set by *Episcopacie* (in England) for the present (whether or no *animo resumendi* to Him alone is known), far be it from me to close with such, whom I confess I love the worse; those *Practicers* of so much libertie in the *Church*, that it tendeth directly to *confusion* and whose disorderly Order deserves not the name of any *Discipline*.

“But I know that *religion* and *learning* hath flourished under the *Presbyterian government* in *France*, *Germany*, the *Low Countries*. I know many *worthy champions* of the *truth*, bred and brought up under the same. I know the *most learned and moderate English Divines* (though *Episcopal* in their *callings* and *judgments*) have allowed the *Reformed Churches* under the *Discipline* for sound and perfect in all essentials necessary to salvation. If, therefore, denied my first desire to live under that church-government and best affected, I will contently conform to the *Presbyterian government*, and endeavour to deport myself quietly and comfortably under the same.”

Resuming, then, his animadversions on the over-strictness of some, he affirms that this hath made the sacrament to be long disused in some churches ; nay, in some parishes for the space of ten years. Another mischief which he imputes to this abuse is its tendency to direct men's attention Romewards. “Thereby our adversaries of the Romish Church have gotten a great advantage. This is a true maxim : *a lean communion maketh a fat Mass* ; and many are fallen off to *Papistry* on this occasion.” Against their indiscretion, he appeals to the French and Dutch congregations in London as examples of their respective originals abroad. “Was there ever such a negligence \* (says the pious and learned biographer of Archbishop Williams) among Christians before ?” Sometimes the Pope hath interdicted the churches of a nation for a year or more, the greater was his sin ; but I will make affidavit that some parishes among us have been interdicted from the Lord’s Supper by the hirelings that teach them from 1642 to 1649, and this famine of the holy bread is like to continue among them.”

This was not the only abuse. “In these licentious times,” remarks Fuller in his “Mixt Meditations,” “wherein religion lay in a swoon, and many pretended Ministers (minions of the times) committed or omitted in Divine service what they pleased. Some, not only in Wales, but in England and in London itself, on the Lord’s Day (sometimes with, sometimes without, a Psalm) presently popped up into the pulpit, before any portion of Scripture either in the Old or New Testament was read to the people.

"Hereupon one in jest-earnest said, that formerly they put down *Bishops* and *Deans*, and now they had put down *Chapters* too."

At the conclusion of the first part a tail-piece is appended —an anchor with the motto *Dum Spiro Spero*, said to be Charles I.'s favorite one, as found in some of his books, and his copy of Shakespeare, and attested by his attendant Hubert.

(2.) The *Second Reconciler*, stating the controversy, "Whether any persons unordained may lawfully preach," is based on the favorite text of the advocate of lay preaching, Acts xiii. 15, "And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the Synagogue sent unto them saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." In this "Reconciler," Fuller treats of the origin and institution of synagogues, and noticing the mention of them in the Psalms, he concludes that they may be said to be by *Divine right once removed, jure Divino secundario*, namely, collected from the Scriptures by necessary consequence. The synagogues served for a double interest, as our "Churches for devotion, and as schools or academies for disputation," the masters being the several rulers thereof.

Speaking of the reading of the Law, he says, "The Rabbis tell us that the *five books* of Moses were divided into fifty-three *Parasoth* or *Divisions* (each whereof contained one hundred thirtie-six verses), and one of them was read every Sabbath day, beginning at the first *Sabbath* after the Feast of Tabernacle. If any say there being but fiftie two *Sabbaths* in the year, what did they do with the odd Parasoth or Divisions? I can give no certain account,

save that it is probable they doubled their *office* the last *Sabbath*, hemming it, as I may say, at the close and conclusion thereof."

Barnabas was not without an ordinary call to preach ; being a Levite, it belonged to his profession to teach the people. He had moreover an extraordinary call from God, besides at this time a *civil invitation* from the *Masters of the synagogue*. Paul was a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, of whom it is said that they sit in Moses' seat, and therefore had the privilege of speaking. Should the objection be raised, that if the ability and authority of Paul and Barnabas to preach were granted, " yet both were utterly unknown to the *Masters* of the *Jewish Synagogue* in Antioch, who beheld them as neither more nor less than meer strangers casually coming thither." Fuller answers : " First, we will premise the answer of Carthusianus, a *learned Papist*, and justly dissent from the former part thereof. *Ex habitu censuerunt esse pios et religiosos.* 'They esteemed them,' saith he, 'to be pious and religious men by their habit.' To this I agree negatively thus far, that nothing of vanitie or lightness appeared in their clothes to speak them idle or foolish persons, adding this comment, 'It is fitting that in times of peace *Ministers* should be distinguished from ordinarie men by the gravitie of their garments ; and the the *ancient Church-Canons* on that kind were grounded on just considerations.' "

He (Fuller) then enters into a practical application of his subject, which he marshalls under the head of Doctrine. Referring to the antiquity of publickly reading the Word of God in Church, he says : " And here let us endeavour to raise the just reputation of the Word publicly read ; some

conceive, that the *Word preached* is as much holier than the *Word read*, as the *Pulpit* is higher than the *Desk*. Yea, such will say, *myself, or son, or servant* can read a Chapter as well at home, as any the most *accomplished Minister* in *England*. But let such know that he which doth not honor all, doth not honor any of *God's ordinances*, and it is just with God that preaching of the Word should prove ineffectual to such as slight and neglect the reading thereof."

In the following passage (Doct. v.) Fuller appears to be of the same mind as primitive George Herbert. "*It is lawfull for ministers to make use of the help of others, not only in their sickness and necessarie absence, but also when their own persons are present.* First, because we must as well *mend our nets*, as always *catch fishes*, as well studie for new supplie as always *preach*; and since nature hath given us as well two ears as a tongue, we must as attentively listen to the parts and pains of others, as contentedly utter our own *meditations*.

"Secondly, such varietie will not only be pleasant but profitable to our *people*. *In the mouth of two or three witnesses let every truth be established.* When the *People* shall hear the same matter in a different manner, one truth (*Salvation by God's mercies alone and Christ's merits*), dressed in several motives, and methods, and expressions, *the nails* will be driven the faster by *many Masters of the Assembly*, and though it be faultie for itching ears to heap up *Teachers* to themselves, yet sometimes such *Exchange of Preachers* increase the *edification of an Auditorie*."

In those days of change and pretended change, many of the lawful ministers were expelled their pulpits and parishes,

nor could the exchange have advanced true religion in the several parishes. They were often superseded by illiterate persons, every way contemptible, and who could not feel therefore to bring a disgrace upon public worship itself, according as affairs then stood. In *Doctrine vii.*, Fuller remarks, “The rulers of the *Synagogue* gave a licence to *Paul and Barnabas*, who intrude not without their leave or desire. How many now-a-days in despight of the *Rulers* of the *Synagogues*, the undoubted *Patron*, the *lawfull Incumbent*, the *Guardian* of the *Church* publickly chosen, storm the *Pulpit* by their meer violence, without any other *Call* or *Commission* thereunto” (p. 72).

After showing that Parents and Masters of families, Judges on the Bench, *Professors* in the Universities (as the Doctors in the chair), Generals in the Field have a certain predicatorial prerogative, and Christians in an ordinary way of instructions, our author goes on to discuss those who are lawfully called to preach, “None may ordinarily execute the office of preacher except lawfully called thereunto.” Nothing can dispense with this rule but an absolute and literal necessity, not a pretended necessity only visible to the parties who allege it. A lawful calling to the ministry consists of two parts, and is partly external and partly internal. The internal call consists of a strong desire at least (free from any sinister motives) and delight to undertake the sacred duties of the ministerial office; and also in having some competent ability to discharge its important responsibilities (our author might have added the expressed wish of parents, and force of circumstances). Here in addition to the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, Fuller recommends also some skill in logic, and this point he omits

no occasion to urge upon his readers. He also adds to these qualifications, that of inward holiness. The external call consists, first, in the approbation of such in the Church as have power and place to examine them, "But all these will not do the deed to make a lawful minister : still one thing, and but one thing is wanted, and that is ordination (Acts xiv. 27, Titus i. 5), the solemnity whereof, with the ceremony used thereat, are set forth in Scripture" (p. 84).

Fuller gives us this sketch of the state of the Clergy in Elizabeth's reign, which must have been sad times indeed, "Know here, great the difference of abilities in several ages. In time of *general ignorance* a *lesser degree of knowledge* must be admitted. Sad the times in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, when by Her Majesties injunctions, the *Clergy* were commanded to read the *Chapters* over once or twice by themselves, that so they might be the better enabled to read them distinctly in the *Congregation*. Blessed be God, we have an alteration to the better, and lately there hath been plenty of able men, were their parts but sufficiently sanctified" (p. 82).

Fuller gives instances first of all from the Old Testament, that of Uzzah and Uzziah, but the modern meddlers and intruders would doubtless reply that the prejudices of Christians are not to be interfered with by reference to the old Canon. We are not, they would say, under a Theocracy ; we have nothing to do with Moses, say our Christian legislators and our Christian lay-clergy, the one to justify the doctrine that whatever a nation does as a nation for the poor, it is Corban a work of humane supererogation ; the other to make way for the doctrine that all Christians are equally at liberty to teach and to preach.

Infinite indeed are the abuses of the Christian world from the depreciating of the Old Testament, and from mistaken notions respecting those uses of it, which are not temporary, and those parts of it which are common alike to both dispensations.

From the Old Testament our author passes on to the “solemn calling and commission of Christ’s Apostles in the New, Mark iii. 13, ‘And He goeth up into a mountain and calleth unto Him whom He would, and they came unto Him.’ It was not who would come, but whom He called. Christ invites all to salvation : ‘*Come unto Me* all ye that are heavy laden’ : only some to the ministerial function.”

He then notices the standing allegation of this motley troop of pulpiteers, and of those, their mistaken adherents, who are rather busy than skilful in the Scriptures. “Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets.” It followeth not that those things either are, or should be, which every good man in holy zeal doth desire. I will not instance in the wish of Daniel, “*O King, live for ever*, lest any say that was but a *court-compliment*.” St. Paul saith thus : “*Brethren my heart’s desire for Israel is that they may be saved.*” Israel indefinitely, that is, Israel universally, though it neither could or would be so, as contrary to the will and pleasure of God in that particular ; thus the expressions of Moses were the commendable extravagancy of his pious affection, but not the exact standard, by adæquation, whereunto the lawfulness of all men’s prophecy should be proportioned.”

In proof of our author’s contention, he brings his third argument from the Primitive Church, showing, as we have before observed, how thoroughly he understood, and true he

was to, the logical basis of the Reformed Anglican Church.

“Third argument might be fetched from the practice of the Primitive Church, wherein preaching was only practised by such as were lawfully ordained thereunto, which may be cleared by authority out of the *Fathers*. But I purposely decline this reason, remembering how Samson served the *Philistines* when fastened (*Judges* xvi. 14) by *his locks with a pin*. ‘*For he went away with the pin of the beam*?’ Thus, when we think we have our *Adversaries* on this point, safe and fast, when by an argument *fetcht* from *Church-practice* we stake them down to the *Primitive times*, away they carry pin and all by slighting and contemning such ancient practices, as no ways concluding them to conform thereunto.”

Finding that this reference to Primitive Antiquity carried no weight with his opponents he presses them with Paul’s authority. How shall they preach except they be sent? How shall they preach, that is, profitably to others, comfortably to themselves, with an assurance of Divine direction, protection, benediction? It is said in the foregoing words, *How shall they hear without a preacher?* to show that it is equally impossible for men to *hear without a preacher, to preach lawfully without sending*. Let such who pretend to preach without *a call*, try if they can *hear without a preacher*? This they will never presume to do, as knowing that they shall quickly be confuted by the rest in the room, which can hear nothing where nothing is spoken, though they have as quick ears as any others” (p. 90).

“Secondly, 2 Cor. xii. 17. ‘If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing?’ *Prophets* we know are termed

*Seers*, 1 Sam. ix. 9. Now, where all the body is *sight*, that may truly be termed not a body *mystical*, but *monstrous*.

Are not these words still applicable to our own times? “But let us survey what gifts those are, which generally are most boasted of by *opposers* on this point. God is my witness, I speak it without bitterness, or any satirical reflection. Are they not for the most part such as may be reduced to boldness, confidence, memory, and volubility of tongue. Might they not truly say of many of their sermons what the Sons of the Prophet said of their *Axe*, 2 Kings vi. 5, ‘*Alas, its borrowed*,’ *renting chiefly the notes and endeavours of others*.”

He divides the self-constituted ministry into two classes. First, those who hold another calling with preaching; secondly, those who forsake a former calling. To the former of these he commends the apostolic rule: “*It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables*.” (Acts vi. 2.) “The Apostles would not be *pluralists in professions*, nor retain two callings at the same time, and yet serving of tables in that sense (that is, overseeing of the poor) was more compatible with preaching than any other employment, as being in its own nature of a *charitable constitution*, and an office afterwards used in the Church as an entrance of *probationers* into the *ministry*.”

“Secondly, the Apostles’ refusal to be double-called, at once proceeded from one or both of these reasons. Either because they accounted it too heavy a task for one person, though they were most miraculously accomplished, in which respect, the ability and activity of their parts might have as much *ubiquitariness* as mortal men can pretend to; to be present at once in distant employments. Or else their

recusancy was caused from an apprehension that it was disgraceful *unequally to yoke* the preaching of *God's word* with any other vocation, and beneath the dignity thereof to couple it with *serving of Tables*" (p. 98).

"Thirdly, we see that they were resolved as to let go the meaner so to retain the most noble and necessary function of preaching, whence most glory redoundeth to God, and profit to His people.

"How then can men now-a-days of meaner parts and endowments discharge that which the *Apostles* did decline? *Preach the Word and serve a ship; preach the Word and serve a shop; preach the Word and serve the looms; preach the Word and serve the last?* retaining either *manual or military employment* with the same" (p. 98).

He then observes of St. Paul (Acts xx. 34, and 1 Cor. iv. 12) "that *extraordinary accidents* are not to be drawn into *ordinary practice*. The Apostle did not this constantly and commonly, but for a short time, at a very pinch, out of a holy design, namely, to *starve* the *false prophets* amongst the *Corinthians*, and, therefore, this, his act, ought not be precedential to others, who are to apply themselves totally to the *ministry*" (p. 99).

Referring to those who forsake their former calling and take up with preaching totally, he commends to their consideration St. Peter xiv. 15, "See what a *crew*," he says, "the Apostle has chosen out, as only fit to keep company with *busie-bodies*. Surely *busie-bodiness* is an heinous offence of greater guilt than men generally do know, or will acknowledge. *Noscitur a sociis*, dark men are expounded by their companions. The great offence therein appeareth by such with whom the *Apostle* doth associate them. And

what greater *busie-body* than one which invadeth the *Hardest*, and *Highest*, and *Holiest* of professions, never ordained thereunto, contrary to the *council* of the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 24, “Brethren, let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God.” (p. 100).

“And here take notice,” says Fuller, “of a strange and incredible alteration within the last ten years in *England* that either men are suddenly grown more able than before, or else the *Ministry* is become more easie than in former ages. Some ten years since (1644), when those of the *Clergy* were excluded the *Commission of the peace*, this principal reason is rendered in the act, why *Ministers* should not be admitted *Justices of the Peace*, because *Preaching of the Word* is enough to *take up* the whole man, so that they must be wanting to the calling of their *ministerial functions*, if attending at the same time another employment” (p. 101).

“And yet see now on a suddain, some conceive themselves able sufficiently to follow a *manual trade* all the *weeke* and also qualified for preaching on the *Lord's Day* after. I say again, either men in our age are mounted on a suddain to be more dextrous and knowing, or the ministry is stooped to be more facile and obvious, or (which I fear is the truest) men are grown more daring, impudent, and prophane than in the days of our *Fathers*” (p. 102).

“And now,” he says, in conclusion, “I trust that none can take exception of what I have freely, but without spleen or malice, spoken of the blameworthy practices of such, who intrude themselves into our Profession, having unpartially reprobated even myself and those of my own function; and thus my sword having equally cut on both sides, I now

put it up again into the sheath, never to be drawn in this place or quarrel again" (p. 107).

Fuller appears to have kept his word, except in a kind of incidental way, he alludes to the subject again in 1659 in his *Alarum*, when he says, speaking of the heavy national taxation, that though some soldiers would preach *gratis*, yet none would fight at so cheap a rate."

(3). The last part of Fuller's *Eirenicon*, the *third Reconciler* is devoted to the discussion, whether the Lord's *Prayer* ought not to be used by all Christians. There were those in that age, who, carried away with an iconoclastic fanaticism, following Milton in this respect, who condemned the use of the Lord's Prayer. Fuller, therefore, undertakes the defence of this very Christian practice, and with great power demonstrates the futility of those cavils urged against it, a defence based on the text, "When ye pray, say our Father, &c." (Luke xi. 2.) It must be borne in mind that the Lord's Prayer is said in *every single office* used in the Church of England at least once; and in matins, evensong, and Office of the Holy Communion it is said twice (in its longer or shorter form, once at the opening of it, and the second time after reception). And there is an obvious reason too for the use of the shorter or longer form, *i.e.*, with or without the Doxology. Discussing the time *when*, he refers to the example of David, who, in the multiplicity of his affairs, imperial and domestic, prayed seven times a day. "One asked a *Philosopher*, what was the best time for a man to eat in, to whom he ingeniously replied, '*A rich man may eat when he please, a poor man when he can.*' His witty answer may afford us this grave application. Be thou poor, or be thou rich, pray thou both when thou wilt and when thou

can'st, so often as thou hast either necessity, or conveniency : I will not stint thee to Canonicall hours, but embrace all opportunities that are rendered unto thee, to express thy service to God in thy prayers."

With respect to the possible performance of the Scriptural injunction to constant prayer, as the *Euchites* did in the *Primitive Church*, our Author says, "First, in Scripture language, that is said to be done continually which is done every morning and every night, Exod. xxix. 38, 'Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar ; two lambs of the first year, *day by day continually*,' and this was constantly called *Juge sacrificium*, or the continual sacrifice, Numb. xxviii, 3, and vi. 10; Ezra iii. 5. In proportion whereunto whosoever constantly prayeth morning and evening though following his calling and attending his own occasions all the intermediate time, may be said according to the *Apostolic* precept to *pray continually or without ceasing*" (p. 114).

"Secondly, by praying continually or without ceasing is meant, *Endeavour so to temper thy soul as always to be in a praying capacitiie, though not actually praying, yet be not put past an abilitie to discharge that duty.* Such, therefore, who are so discomposed with sin or sinfull passion that they are rendered thereby utterly impotent to pray, sin against the command of the Apostle. Otherwise it is no breach thereof to intermit their prayers and cease sometimes from the same, it being said of our Saviour Himself in the verse before our text, as He was *praying in a certain place, when He ceased*" (p. 115).

"Must we finde a set time to pray ? Serveth this to confute such who can afford a *when to eat*, and a *when to drink*, a *when to sleep*, a *when to talk*, and a *when to walke*, and a

when to work, and a when to play, but cannot find out a When to Pray, according to our Saviour, His command, when ye pray, yet God, (Eccl. iii. 1), hath made a time for all things, save that which man doth at all times, I mean sin. How many there are that pinch on God's side, and as the crowd of People (Luke viii. 1), the multitude throng thee and press thee, so worldly men, to make room for their temporal affairs, thrust, throng, contract, yet sometimes do wholly jostle out and omit their daily Devotions" (p. 115).

With respect to the Lord's Prayer, it was Fuller's opinion that the prayers in Matt. vi. and Luke xi. are not one and the same, but varied; "the one being incorporated in the very body and bowels of a most heavenly sermon, that on the Mount, the other on another occasion, but both the same in all essentials, which may teach us that a prayer is none the better for being newly composed, there being twelve months between each. *One good prayer well composed, the more usel the more acceptable to Heaven;* think not, like lavish Courtiers, our prayers shall be more welcome, if always appearing in a new suite, or new dress of language and expression" (p. 120).

"But as the good householder brought out of his treasury things new and old (onely new had been too prodigal, onely old had been too penurious) so present thou to God new affections with thy old expressions, a new degree of faith, repentance, charity, and never fear the entertainment of thy prayer in Heaven, though it be an old one, the self-same which formerly and frequently hath been offered" (p. 120).

In alleging that it is not enough to make mental prayers, but sometimes they ought orally to express them, he gives

us his third reason. “ It is good for the edification of others who may so far be partakers of our prayers, so as to joyn with us in them and to be comforted by them. A prayer concealed may have as much *heat*, but a prayer expressed hath more *light* therein, it doth shine before men and make them glorifie our Father which is in Heaven ” (p. 121).

The men of Fuller’s days would not have been satisfied without something more unlike the first prayer as set down in St. Matthew, a *longer* prayer and one more particular. Fuller adduces Matt. xxvi. 44 and Numb. vi. 23, the use of hymns, which are nothing more than forms of prayer and thanksgiving. He admirably urges the universal adaptation of the Lord’s Prayer, simple for both childhood and old age, and comprising and including all our wants.

Our Divine then proceeds to answer the various cavils which have been urged against this prayer. “ Almost *unprecedented* in former ages, which maintained a constant reverence and esteem thereof, as the *Lord’s Prayer* and *Lord of prayers*. But, alas ! we are fallen into such an impudent age, wherein many begin to slight it, of whom I will say no more than this, if they begin to think meanly of God’s prayer, what cause hath God to think basely of theirs ” (p. 123).

Fuller observes that perchance the true cause of men’s prejudice is to be found in the Prayer itself. “ Are they not out of charity with the Lord’s Prayer because there is so much charity in the Lord’s Prayer ? ”

The cavils which he most admirably refutes are ranged under six different heads.

(1). “ It is objected that it is a *set form of prayer*, and therefore doth *pinion* and confine the wings of a *Dove*,

which ought to be at liberty and freedom to make choice of its own expressions of itself."

(2). "It is not a prayer of itself, but only a pattern or draught, by which other prayers are to be made, and St. Matthew says 'After this manner.'"

(3) "I should be ashamed to set down as so weak and simple, save that some in our dayes, who pretend to judgment, put it in, not only to swell a number, but lay much stress on the thought thereof, namely, that *Christ made it in His minority*, before He was arrived at His full perfection" (p. 130).

(4). Fourth Cavil. "There is nothing of a Saviour in this prayer. It is but a *legal Old Testament Prayer*, whereas we are to ask all in *the name of Jesus*; no mention thereof herein, as therefore some *Jews* have a diminutive opinion of the *Book of Esther*, because the word *Jehova* is not to be found in all the extent thereof. On the same account we may justly ground an undervaluation of this prayer wherein the name of Jesus doth not appear, which alone is so of the *Quorum* in all supplications, that without it they cannot be presumed acceptable in the *Court of Heaven*" (p. 131).

(5). Fifth Cavil. "The prayer is too short, it is not comprehensive enough of all men's necessities, which ought to be represented therein. It is too narrow, as not adequate to the emergencies of all occasions" (p. 133).

(6). Last Cavil. This prayer hath notoriously been abused by the *Papists* to *Superstition*, and therefore the more surely to avoid offence the use thereof may safely be waved and declined" (p. 136).

All these cavils are most exhaustively discussed and conclusively answered with a power and moderation truly

admirable, and our Author thus sums up his reasoning, “Wherefore, though we will not say of the Lord’s Prayer, *none but it*; and may say of Goliath’s (as David said) sword *none is like unto it*; though it be not to be used exclusively to shut out all other, yet is it eminently to be preferred before the rest.

“I will add one thing more. What metale soever the ring of the devotions be made of, the Lord’s Prayer is a good *diamond* to close and conclude with, of what wood soever the *shaft* of the *darts* of thy prayers doth consist, the Lord’s Prayer is the best *sharp Pile to pierce Heaven* and to be put on at the end of thy own devotions (p. 140).

“In conclusion,” he says, “Parents and Children, and especially Mothers, may take notice that their little ones in saying the Lord’s Prayer are generally out at this Petition, ‘And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.’ Not one little child of ten sayeth it right, and in the right place. Some pass over and wholly omit, some transpose it, very few truly pronounce it; whereof this the reason, Trespasses once and again in this Petition is as bad as a *Shibboleth* to try the lisping tongue of a child, there being a conflux of several consonants, and some *hard sounded* therein, so that it poseth all the *offices of speech* in a child’s mouth distinctly to utter the same.

“Let not parents be angry with their children for not speaking it, but with themselves for not practising it; they beat their children for not saying it; God may justly beat them for not doing it. I confess such forgiveness goeth *against flesh and blood*, but flesh and blood shall never enter the Kingdom of Heaven. We must be acted with higher principles if we hope to come thither, whither the *mercies* of

God bring us through the merits of Jesus Christ" (p. 144).

About this time Fuller preached his sermon "Life out of Death," at Chelsey, on the recovery of an honourable person. It was printed for John Williams, our Author's favourite publisher, at the Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1655. The honourable person alluded to on the title page was Sir John D'Anvers, who had been dangerously ill for a long time at his house at Chelsea, and on account of his great age his friends never expected his recovery. He was, however, miraculously restored to health, and this restoration to convalescence forms the basis of this discourse. It is founded on the words "The writing of Hezekiah King of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness" (Isaiah xxxviii. 9). The preacher alludes to Hezekiah in his double condition, Hezekiah sick; Hezekiah sound; Hezekiah dying, and Hezekiah living; and in this order he deals with the subject. "The main doctrine in the text is this: *Neither grace nor greatness can privilege any from sickness, and by consequence from death.* Hezekiah hath a double title to make him sickness-free, death-proof. First, he was one of signall sanctity, a *non sicut*; like unto him was none before him, neither afterwards arose there any in Israel like unto him. Secondly, was a King; had his piety improved by power, yet sickness was no whit afraid of the greatness of his power, of the grimness of his Guard, at the gallantry of his Pentioners, at the greatness, at the goodness of his Person, but boldly seized upon him. Whereof this the reason? The statute of death is above the prerogative Royall (p. 10), "*It is appointed of all men once to die*" (p. 103).

The preacher then lays "down" some rules, how persons

should demean themselves in the time of sickness, providing to entertain what it is impossible to avoid. These lessons must be learned now and practised hereafter. Sickness is a time to suffer, not to do in. Patients are like bees in winter, no flying abroad to find fresh flowers, either they must starve, or live on that stock of honey, which they have provided in the summer time. Let us not have our Oyl to buy, when we should have it to burn, but treasure up good counsels whilst we are at ease and health, to be put in use when God's prisoners on our beds of sickness" (p. 11).

Fuller points out in what a person might desire a longer life (1) if in a right man and good end, if conditionally submitting himself to God's will and pleasure (p. 11); (2) as to receive more grace from God, so to return more thanks to Him, by serving Him in our vocation (p. 12); (3) to see an Establishment in the Church of God, of these fluctuating times, to behold the same fixed to His honour, and the advantages of true religion (p. 15).

On the second division he gives us a very interesting illustration. "Venerable Bede had almost finished the translation of the Gospel of St. John into English, when he swounded away, which his *secretary* seeing, who wrote for him (a Baruch for Jeremiah) cryed out, 'O ! master, there wanteth yet two or three verses to be translated,' hereat the old man revived, recruited his spirits, and mustered in all the force of his minde together, held out to the finishing of the same, he expired. Assure thyself thou shalt in like manner be immortal,\* so long as there remaineth any part of thy Testimony unperformed by thee" (p. 17).

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\* "Man is immortal till his work is done."

In laying down some motives to patience, he proceeds : “O that it were as easie to practise them, as to preach them. How facile is it for us to preach them : how facile it is for us here by God’s goodnesse in perfect health, magisterially to dictate to others what they should do : but God knoweth how *harde* we should finde it to practise these precepts if in sicknesse ourselves. Truly as careful mothers and nurses taste themselves first what they give to our children, that it may not be too hot to burn their mouths, so we Ministers ought to try upon our own selves those Doctrines which we impose on others, which should make us sympathise with the weaknesse of our people, if our consciences accuse us that we find them too hot for our own mouthes, which notwithstanding we will thrust down the throat of others.”

After saying that “the soul carrieth in it the seeds of all sins, and therefore the body hath in it the seeds of all sickness,” he urges : “Secondly. Consider that thy disease is far gentler and painless than what thou hast deserved. What is thy Disease, a Consumption? Indeed a certain messenger of death ; but know that of all the Bayliffs sent to arrest us for the debt of nature, none useth his prisoners with more civility and courtesie than the Consumption, though too often an ill use is made thereof, for the prisoners to flatter themselves into a possibility of escape : but what a Consumption hast thou deserved. *Correct us, O Lord, and yet in Thy judgment, not in Thy fury, lest we be consumed and brought to nothing.* A Consumption of annihilation is our desert.

“What is thy disease, the Tooth-ach? Indeed a grievous one of all that are not mortall : but, blessed be God, it hath

raised many from their beds, it hath sent few to their graves ; often hindered sleep, seldom caused death : but know if we had our due, it is not *the aking of the teeth*, but *gnashing of the teeth which we deserve*. Is it a *burning Fever*? Know that Hell-Fire is the just reward of our sins, and all is mercy which is on the side thereof" (p. 22).

Enforcing the lessons of the sick bed, to perform the promises made to God in the time of affliction, he says : "Secondly, *mistake not thy reprieve for a pardon*. Our English plain proverb saith, *The pitcher goeth not so often to the fountain but it is broken at last*. Let no Criticks condemn this for a homely expression, finding it a Scripture phrase used by Solomon in his description of old age and death (Eccles. xii. 6), '*Before the Pitcher be broken at the Fountain*' ; expounded by some to be the liver, wherein the blood, life's liquor, is contained. Remember thyself to be but a pitcher of frail and feeble constitution.

"Yet there is a difference even among Pitchers, whereof some last longer than others. First, that Pitcher that is made of stiffe and tough Clay, not of bad and brittle, and well baked in the Oven, is the strongest, and will abide most knocks before broken. Secondly, that Pitcher which is charily kept, and seldom used, put as we say to no strife, may be of longer continuance. However, neither the firm matter, nor sound baking, nor chary keeping thereof, can advance the Pitcher into a Marble Urn or pot of brasse, but the fragility thereof still remaineth, and it is but a pitcher at the best.

"Some men as succeed to strong bodies from their Nativity, not enervated with hereditary diseases (the badges of their Parents' intemperance), are Pitchers of the finest clay, and

best making, such as improve this their temper with temperance, not exposing themselves by exorbitant causes and casualties, are Pitchers charily kept; however, they still retain their breakableness, and can never alter their property into a firmer consistence: and therefore let none recovering from sickness misinterpret their reprieve for a Pardon" (p. 25).

In conclusion, after alluding to "the Person honorably extracted, present in this place," whose recovery had been as marvellous as Hezekiah's, both as to its danger and *declined* age of the Patient, he thus refers to Sir John D'Anvers' wife and his Physician: "God hath crowned the endeavours of a most loving and careful Consort, and the directions of a most able and knowing Physician, as instrumental to the accomplishing of this His great mercy, to this His revived Servant, who here tendereth the first-fruits of his Resurrection to God in His Church, to receive the *Eucharist*, that is, the *thanksgiving*: as for all other mercies bestowed upon him, so for this, the last and freshest in his memory, conferred on him *who hath bin sick, and is recovered of his sickness*" (p. 27).

About three months after the recovery of Sir John D'Anvers, a fatal circumstance happened in his family. His son Henry died, Nov. 15th, 1654, to Fuller's great sorrow, of small-pox, at Charing Cross, where two members of the same family had sickened and died of the same disease some twenty years before.

On the anniversary of Gunpowder Plot, which fell on a Sunday this year (1654), Fuller preached a sermon on the occasion. The discourse was two years later printed, under the title *The Snare Broken*, being founded on the text

(Gen. xl ix. 6), “O my soul, come not thou into their secret.” The preacher divided wicked men into two sorts—“those that call people into their secrets, and those who come into their secrets when called.” As to the anniversary itself, he remarked that some wished the day might not be kept, but forgot. “Methinks,” he adds, “it looks with a paler colour in the almanack than it used to do, but next year (*i.e.*, 1655) it will be a full jubilee—fifty years since the contrivance thereof.” He urged his parishioners to keep in their minds the memorial of so great a blessing, and to preserve the memory of it: “For what principles of false doctrine had infected the land had this plot taken effect! And therefore it shall be my prayer that God will write thankfulness in your hearts to a continual remembrance of the same” (p. 23).

Fuller’s intimacy with the D’Anvers family explains his frequent visits to the little waterside village of Chelsey. Many of the nobility had their suburban residences there, intercourse with the Metropolis being kept up by water. St. Luke’s, the church where Fuller sometimes preached, has been often altered. It is now a plain brick edifice, and is a rectory in the diocese of London, and archdeaconry of Westminster.

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## CHAPTER VII.

FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY (1)—1655.

"This History is now, though late (all Church work is slow), brought with much difficulty to an end ; and blessed be God the Church of England is still (and long may it be) in Being, though disturb'd, distempered, distracted. God help and heal her most sad condition." —(From my Chamber in Sion Colledge. To the Reader : *Church History.*)

E come now to the consideration of the greatest literary effort of our author's life, which indeed we may rightly call his *Magnum Opus*, and by which he is best known—"The Church History of Great Britain." For this original compilation he had been collecting materials for many previous long years, and for the accumulating of these he had made frequent journeys to different parts of the kingdom, with indefatigable industry, and laid every available library under contribution. The publication of the "Church History" took place about March, 1655, and had been long and eagerly looked for. And it was clear from former publications that the bias of his mind was towards ecclesiastical story. It was the realisation of a long cherished hope, and the public expression of the conception of a life-work. As early as 1642, he had taken a general survey of the whole subject, to which his chief literary energies were to be devoted. Thus Fuller writes in his Epistle to the Reader in his *Holy State*,

“ And now I will turn my pen into prayer, that God would be pleased to discloud these gloomy days with the beams of His mercy, which, if I may be so happy as to see, it will then encourage me to count in freedom, to serve two apprenticeships (God spinning out the thick thread of my life so long) in writing the Ecclesiastical History from Christ’s time to our days, if I shall from remote parts be so planted as to enjoy the benefit of walking and standing libraries, without which advantage the best vigilance doth both vainly dream to undertake such a task.”\* His unsettled life for many years may have for a time shaken his purpose, when he had “ rather to study to live than live to study,” as he puts it, “ I had ever since quitted all thoughts of writing any Church History.” But though he may have worked fitfully at it, the gradual accumulation of materials showed what the bent of his wishes and intention really was. Besides, there was a general expectation, with regard to our popular author, that such a work was in preparation, and was, indeed, long overdue, and this could not be allayed. Of this he was reminded in the following lines about this time :—

UPON MR. FULLER’S BOOKE CALLED “ PISGAH-SIGHT.”

Fuller of wish, than hope, methinks it is,  
 For me to expect a fuller work than this :  
 Fuller of matter, fuller of good sense,  
 Fuller of art, fuller of eloquence ;  
 Yet dare I not be bold, to intitle this  
 The fullest work : the author Fuller is,  
 Who, though he empty not himself can fil  
 Another fuller, yet continue still  
 Fuller himself, and so the Reader be  
 Always in hope a fuller work to see.

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\* “ Holy State ” : To the Reader.

There was also ample room for such a work at that period, anterior to the times of Stryper's Annals and Collier's History, even though Fuller asserted in 1660 that our land since the Reformation had yielded ecclesiastical historians "of as tall parts, and large performance as any nation in Christendom,"\* attempts had, indeed, been made in that direction, notably by Bishop Mountagu, the author of *Apello Cæsaren*, but his project, though an excellent one, never reached maturity. "Had it been finished," says Fuller, "we had had Church annals to put in the balance with those of Baronius, and which would have swayed with them for learning, and weighed them down with truth."

During all the time of the "civil distempers," in which his lot had been cast, Fuller kept steadily to the work of his life, excusing the delays in its production, now by witty sallies, by way of excuses, and now by promises of further instalments. He often quoted against his friends the old Church proverb, "All Church work is slow." Our Author was taunted by his antagonist, Heylin, for his "starts for recreation in the Holy Land," meaning thereby his compilation of the *Pisgah-Sight*, to which Fuller made answer that "That book, indeed, was no part of Church building, yet it was the clearing of the floor or foundation thereof, by presenting the performance of Christ and His Apostles in Palestine." He had spoken of the difficulties in the way of its completion, even in 1651, in his *Pisgah*, but expressed a hope in God to effect his work in competent time. "Might my endeavour meet with a quiet residence, and proportionable encouragement for such undertakings." After he had got the *Pisgah*

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\* "Worthies," c x. 27.

well off his hands he recommenced preparing his “Church History” for the Press with a remarkable will and energy. His industry was indefatigable, and labours almost super-human ; and the remark has often been made, How *could* he have got through such varied work, almost Herculean (for he was a parish priest during most of the time he was writing) ; but “there were giants in those days.” The collection of materials and their compilation was something marvellous—more like the Germans of the present day. And Fuller would seem to have begun to prepare for the Press in 1648, when he first took up his abode in his “quiet residence” at Waltham Abbey, and from whence he had the command of the London libraries, and that of Sion College.

The three first books, which brings the work down to 1370, were mainly written, as he says, “in the reign of the late King, as appeareth by the passages then proper for the government,” and that the other nine were made since *Monarchy* was turned into a *State*. It was first entered in Stationers’ Hall in 1652, by John Stafford, under the title, “A Tract called *The Church Historie of Brittaine*,” but its publication was interrupted. It was re-entered by John Williams (Fuller’s old publisher), who actually published it under its full title, January 14th, 1655, “brought with much difficulty to an end.”

In the “Epistle to the Reader,” Fuller thus writes from his chamber in Sion College : “An ingenious gentleman” (supposed by Oldys to be Edward Waterhouse, Esq., author of a short narrative of the late dreadful fire in London, in which he speaks of the ‘ingenious Dr. Fuller, who will be more valued in after ages, as most are, than in their own’), “some months since, in jest-earnest, advised

me to make haste with my ‘History of the Church of England’: ‘for fear,’ said he, ‘lest the Church of England be ended before the History thereof.’ The History is now, though late (all Church work is slow), brought with much difficulty to an end.

“And, blessed be God, the Church of England (and long may it be) is still in being, though disturbed, distempered, distracted. God help and heal her most sad condition.”

Thus brightly and cheerily did our Author write of the future and ultimate prospects of the Church of this country, which then lay bleeding at every pore, though inclined to be despondent at times on her account. And in illustration of this hope, he has depicted the ruins of Lichfield Cathedral, and the arms of the See underneath, with the significant motto “*Resurgam.*”

Originally Fuller intended to have stopped at the reign of James I., and this was one of the causes of the delay. Indeed, when he had finished the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there were those who would dissuade him from venturing any further, on the ground “that the story of modern times must not be written by any living; a position both disgraceful to historians, and prejudicial to posterity.” This he combats in his excellent dedicatory epistle to the Hon. Robert Lord Bruce, to the tenth book, in the following words: “*Disgraceful to historians:* as if they would make themselves like unto the beasts of the forest, as charactered by David, ‘who move in the darkness till the sun ariseth, and then get them away’ (Ps. civ. 20, 22), loving to write of things done at a distance, where obscurity may protect their mistakes from discovery, but putting up their pens, as

soon as the day dawns of modern times, and they within reach of refutation.

“*Prejudicial to posterity*, seeing intentions in this nature long delayed, are at last defeated. The young man, moved by his mother to marry, returned that as yet it was ‘too soon,’ and some years after pleaded it was ‘too late.’ So some say, truth is not ripe enough to be written in the age we live in, which proveth rotten too much for the next generation faithfully to report, when the impresses of memorable matters are almost worn out: the histories then written having more of the author’s hand than footsteps of truth therein.

“Sure I am that the most informative histories to posterity, and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the eye-witnesses thereof, as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponnesian War.

“However, one may observe such as write the story of their times like the two messengers who carried tidings to David. Of these, Ahimaaz (sent the rather by permission than injunction), only told David what he knew would please him, acquainting him with his victory. But being demanded of his son’s death, he made a tale of a tumult (no better than an officious lie for himself), the issue whereof was to him unknown; Cushi, the other messenger, having his carriage less of cunning, more of conscience: informing the King of his son’s death, but folding it up in a fair expression, ‘The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is’ (2nd Sam. xviii. 32).

“Ahimaaz is imitated by such historians who leave that

unwritten which they suspect will be unwelcome. These following the rule *summa lex summa auctoris* when they meet with any necessary but dangerous truth, pass it over with a blank flourished up with some ingenious evasions.

“Such writers succeed to plain Cushi in their relations, who give a true account of actions: and to avoid all exasperating terms (which may make a bad matter worse in relating it) use the most lenitive language in expressing distasteful matter, adventuring with their own danger to procure the information of others. Truly one is concerned in conscience to transmit to the next age some short intimations of these times, out of fear that records are not so carefully kept in these so many sudden changes, as they were in former ages.”

“I know Machiavel was wont to say that ‘he who undertakes to write a history must be of no religion;’ if so, he himself was the best qualified of any in his age to be a good historian.

“But I believe his meaning was much better than his words, intending therein that ‘a writer of histories must not discover his inclination in religion to the prejudice of truth,’ Levi-like, who said to his father and mother, ‘I have not seen them,’ owning no acquaintance of any relations.

“This I have endeavoured to my utmost in this Book: knowing as that oil is adjudged the best that hath no taste at all, so that historian is preferred who hath the least tang of partial reflection.

“However, some candour of course is due to such historians (wherein the courtesy not so great in giving as the injury in detaining it) who run the chiding of these

present times in hope that after ages may excuse them. And I am confident that these my labours shall find the same favour which *may be* in mere men, *should be* in all gentlemen, *must be* in true Christians : the rather because this Book appeareth patronised by a Dedication to your Honour."

This spirit does honour to Fuller's historical genius, for "a true historian," as Fuller said in his 'Holy Warre,' "should be neither party, advocate, or judge, but a bare witness" and gives the clue to the admirable spirit in which he handles many debateable topics. Take, for instance, the Lambeth Articles, 1395 : "I perceive I must tread tenderly, because I go not, as before, on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow Truth too near to the heels : yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the Truth than that they remain still and rot in his jaws by feeding too much on the sweatmeats of flattery" (Book ix. 232).

Although Fuller was thus candid and outspoken, and never forgot the dignity of the historian, nor the impartial accuracy of the annalist, there were those who misrepresented, and through misrepresentation, assailed his reputation. Foremost amongst these was his persistent and life-long antagonist, Dr. Peter Heylin (whom we have had occasion to mention before), who seizing upon certain passages in our author's "Church History," made them the stalking-horse of a very virulent attack. This is not the place to discuss either the animadversions, disparaging criticism, or its motive power, which we shall more fittingly notice when we come to the consideration of our Author's

“Appeal of Injured Innocence,” put out as an “*Apologia*” both for himself and writings. Fuller was no time-server, nor did he ever pander, whatever respect he might show, to the “powers that be,” whether Monarchy or State. “Not to urge,” says Professor Rogers in his Essay, “that he has said too much on the other side to justify such a supposition (as that Fuller’s candour was a peace-offering to the men in power), his whole manner is that of an honest man, striving to be impartial, if not always successful. Had he been the unprincipled time-server this calumny would represent him, he would have suppressed a little more” (p. 49). Heylin has accused him of suiting his language to the altered current opinion of that day, that kings could be made and unmade by the popular will; to which Fuller replied: “My language forbeareth such personal passages on the King and his posterity, which in his life-time were as consistent with my loyalty as since inconsistent with my safety,” instancing his assertion that King John’s offspring should flourish in full and free power, when the chair of Pestilence should be reduced to ashes. He further adds that if Heylin could produce in the last nine books any single passage to the disparagement of the late King, his person or power, to any impartial ear, “let me, who so long fed on the King’s large diet, be justly famished for my unthankfulness.” The “Church History” abounds in passages which plainly show the Author’s devotion to the King and Monarchy. Amongst others, we may cite that passage touching “the usurpation” of Stephen, under which he represents the people as having “a reservation of their loyalty and erecting a throne in their hearts, with their prayers and tears mounted Queen Maud

‘on the same.’ The original words in the ‘Church History’ (Book iii. cent. xvi.) are ‘Whose high-loyalty to Maud interpreted all *passiveness* under a usurper to be *activity* against the right heir.’

Upon this passage Mr. Nichols, Fuller’s great admirer and industriously-able editor, says: ‘To those who recollect that this ‘Church History’ was published in 1655, when Cromwell’s Major-Generals were rampant in power, it is necessary to point out the fine combination of true *courage* and prudence which is exhibited in these ten paragraphs (30-39). Though the reasoning in this discussion ostensibly referred only to the usurpation of Stephen, it was then generally and tacitly interpreted to be appropriate to the case of all usurpers, but especially to that of Cromwell. In 1689 these passages were perused and quoted, with lively interest, by another generation. Both the conforming and non-juring clergy and laity viewed Fuller as having here depicted, if not predicted, with the practised hand of a master, the different motives by which they felt themselves severally swayed—either in conscientious adhesion to the abdicated monarch, or in equally conscientious compliance with the new government of King William.’\*

Our author enumerates *twelve* books in his ‘Address to the Reader,’ while only eleven are to be found in the ‘Church History.’ But the twelfth book was made up by reckoning the ‘History of the University of Cambridge,’ about which even Bishop Nicholson made the remark, ‘Thomas Fuller was pleased to annex his ‘History of the University of Cambridge’ to that of the ‘Churches of

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\* Book i., 352. Nichols’ Notes.

Great Britain,' and most people think they ought not to be separated." In composing his "Church History," he adopted the plan of recording in chronological order the founders, benefactors, and celebrated men of the various colleges, and repeatedly directs his readers to his "History of the University of Cambridge" for the corresponding information respecting the foundations, benefactions, and eminent persons of the latter University, of which he was himself a member; and to his *alma mater* he proved to be a dutiful son, rendering to her all due honour and respect.

It is said that he intended to compile a history of the University of Oxford, and gave promises to that effect. Whether or no he did so he was very cautious not to draw invidious comparisons between the two universities on the Cam and the Isis, being assured they had well learned their lesson of humility from those words "in honour preferring one another"; and so there was no need to regulate their places. "Wherefore I presume my aunt Oxford will not be justly offended if in this book I give my own mother the upper hand, and first begin with her history. Thus desiring that God would pour His blessing on both, that neither may want milk for their children, or children for their milk, we proceed to the business."

The work, therefore, which he was urged "by importunity" to continue, even beyond the reign of King James, ends with the sad tale of King Charles' death (the eleventh book), but supplemented by the "History of the University of Cambridge," makes the twelve books in all.

Regarding the style of the work, the editor's remarks are so very pertinent and admirable, that we are fain to quote them. "As to the drollery and witticism in which the

work abounds, such a style of writing ecclesiastical history is at first sight somewhat startling, and repugnant to the ideas which are usually entertained concerning the appropriate gravity of the Historic Muse: and yet, whether viewed as natural, or assumed for the occasion, its effect on that age was most admirable. Palled and perverted as the public taste had become through the bitter, and (in many instances) gloomy writings of contending parties in politics and religion during the preceding fifteen years, I doubt whether the people would have endured any narrative of ecclesiastical affairs, especially of those which so nearly concerned that generation, in a strain more stately and dignified than that which is here employed. The honest and witty Tom Fuller may seem to have procured, from ‘the powers which then were,’ a roving licence or dispensation: and was permitted to give utterance to some strong sentiments, which less-favoured individuals durst scarcely own to have found a lodgment within their breasts. Natural strokes of humour are of perpetual recurrence, the allusions in which occasionally amount to the most stringent sarcasm, and when applied (apparently at hap-hazard) to the crying enormities of those times, inculcated great moral lessons, which, though capable (in our view) of being less exceptionally conveyed, would not then have been so graciously received” (Pref. p. xiii).

The work is, as we have seen, divided into eleven books, of which the first three were written in the reign of Charles I. These three books bring the history down to the reign of Edward III., and the year 1370: the first ending 580, and the second 1066, the date of the Norman Conquest. Of the remaining eight, the fourth book

embraces the period from A.D. 1371—1500, Edward III. to Henry VII.; the fifth from A.D. 1501—1546, Henry VII. to Henry VIII; the sixth contains (a most interesting chapter) the History of Abbeys in England ; the seventh book takes up the history from A.D. 1546—1553, the reign of Edward VI; the eighth book from A.D. 1553—1558, the reign of Queen Mary ; the ninth from 1558—1600, the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Our author was advised to conclude his “Ecclesiastical History” and not to adventure into contemporary times, but he pushed on into the reign of James I.; and his tenth book takes up the history from 1601—1624, the reign of James I. ; and the eleventh book treats of the reign of Charles I. from 1625 to 1648, bringing the history to a solemn conclusion by a vivid description of the execution and burial of Charles I., the overthrow of the Monarchy, and collapse of the Historical and National Church.

The early books are divided into centuries, but the latter into sections, and in both the paragraphs are duly labelled and numbered. The arrangement is a peculiar one, but all is methodically set out, so that there is no confusion or want of coherence of thought. “But his method,” as Professor Rogers observes, “consists, if we may be allowed such an abuse of language, in contempt of all method. He has so constructed his works as to secure himself the indulgence of perpetual digression: of harbouring and protecting every vagrant story that may ask shelter in his pages : of rambling hither and thither as the fit takes him : and of introducing all sorts of things where, when, and how he pleases. To this end he cut up his *histories* into little paragraphs, or sections, which often have as little

connection with each other as with the general subject. The little spaces which divide his sections from one another, like those between the compartments in a cabinet of curiosities, are thought sufficient lines of demarcation between the oddest incongruities" (Essay, p. 41).

We cannot be too thankful that Fuller was persuaded to treat of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.: for independently of the impartial and charming way in which he discusses contemporary history, and the sketches he gives of the chief historical personages, this part of the work contains some very important historical documents. That he endeavoured to be impartial we have his own words to that effect, when he says he was "of the judgment of moderate men, as I have clearly and largely stated in my 'Church History,' and desire to die in the maintenance thereof." Owing to this extension of his work we have an enlarged picture-portrait gallery. From his pen we derive our accounts of the Hampton Court Conference, "in Cardinal Wolsey Old Palace, with a very vivid picture of the British Solomon in all his glory presiding at a theological tournament"; the Convocation of 1640; the riots of Westminster, and the efforts to save the Church in the Long Parliament: the new translation of the Bible, and cavils of the Papists thereat; the impeachment of the Bishops: of the Independents, and the Presbyterians; the High Commission Court, and the Directory. We have also portraits of eminent men, either drawn from the life or touched in from the reminiscences of friends, and those of Bishops Andrewes, Davenant (his uncle), Williams, and Laud, being remarkably good, the latter especially so, as Fuller

said of it, “though less than his friends expected, more than I am thanked for.”

Nor must we omit to notice his fairness in describing the Puritans, whose tenets he could not abide, though he might respect their character, commending them “not for their nonconformity, but other qualities of piety.” In fact, all parts of his work evince great sobriety of judgment, and his discussions on what were the “burning questions,” are characterised by good common sense and marked soundness. It was from its perusal that Coleridge penned the following reflection: “Let no foreigner insult on the infelicity of our land in bearing this monster (*Pelagius*, Bk. i., c. 5). It raises, or ought to raise, our estimation of Fuller’s good sense and the general temperance of his mind, when we see the heavy weight of prejudices and the universal code of his age, incumbent on his judgment, and which nevertheless left sanity of opinion the general character of his writings. This remark was suggested by the term “monster,” attached to the worthy Cambrian *Pelagius*\*—the teacher *Arminiasmi ante Arminium*.”

This was a great work to publish even in that great age of folios, and the printing of it was consigned to several printers. This may account for a difference of type, irregularity of pagination, inexactness of dates, all which necessitated Fuller’s frequent visits to the metropolis from Waltham, to watch its progress and correct proof-sheets. There is an amusing anecdote anent this matter given by Fuller himself, apologising for some error: “Here I will truly acquaint the reader with the state of the matter. The

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\* “Notes on English Divines,” i. 124.

posting-press, which, with the time and tide, will stay for no man, mistaking my copy complete, and not attending my coming to London that morning from Waltham, clapt it up imperfect. I must therefore deservedly take all the blame and shame thereof on myself, and here *in this sheet* do public penance for the same, promising amendment to the full, God willing, in the next edition."

For some time it would appear that our Author was undetermined in what way to recast his abundant materials, and whether he should write on other; Churches, e.g., foreign ones, besides the English. But he finally decided on keeping to the English Church, leaving that of Ireland and Scotland out in the cold. "He wrote it," he said, "to confute that accusation commonly charged on Englishmen, that they are very knowing in foreign parts, but ignorant in their own country." For Scotland, indeed, he had a deep but good-natured dislike, often quaintly expressing his aversion.

Having traced, indeed, one of James' progresses up to the borders of Scotland, he handed him over to the historians north of the Tweed, for might his pen be plundered by the Borderers or moss-troopers, if crossing the Tweed into another country. He says elsewhere that none would pity him if he pricked his fingers by meddling with a thistle, and hoped the principles of Buchanan, if attempting to cross, might be swamped in the transit. When attempting to prove that Duns Scotus was born in England, he averred that no argument could be drawn from his name, it being "a common sir-name amongst us, as some four centuries since, *when the Scotch were enjoined to depart this land*, one, Mr. English, in

London, was then the most considerable merchant of the Scotch nation."

By reference to the title-page, it will be seen that our author uses the modest word "Endeavoured," which was however more commonly used in those days than in ours. The full title of the work is as follows:—"The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ, until the Year MDCXLVIII. *Endeavoured* by Thomas Fuller, D.D., Prebendary of Sarum, &c., &c. Author of the 'Worthies of England,' 'Pisgah-Sight of Palestine,' 'Able Redevivus, &c., &c.'

Fuller directs his antagonist's (Heylin) attention to the use of this word, and divides mankind into three classes, *intenders*, *performers*, and *endeavourers*, assigning the lowest and highest to the first two, and a middle form to the last. "Let the reader consider with himself," he says, "whether he did not expect what I never promised ; who, being willing to be cast by the verdict of the ingenuous, for laying my own action too high, have not farced the first page of my book (like a mountebank's bill), pretending no higher than an *endeavour*. No less ingenuous are the reasons which encouraged him in this work. "First, I did hope that what was acceptable to God would not be contemptible to good men, having read, 'If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not' (2 Cor. viii. 12). Secondly, seeing this my willingness was attended with a competency of books, records, friends, intelligence, strength, health, and leisure (be all spoken, not to my praise, but God's glory), I did hope something worth the reader's acceptance might be produced. Lastly, though I, failing in what I undertook, I hoped to perform what

might be useful and advantageous to other pens undertaking the same task, and—to use my own (as who should forbid?) expression—my beam might be scaffolds, my corner filling stones for the more beautiful building.”\*

Our author dedicates the first portion of his work to the illustrious Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, then a lad of five years of age, his father having lately died in the prime of life (March 30th, 1655), with whom Fuller was on considerable terms of intimacy. After quoting and collating Acts xxii. 22, and Hebrews xi. 38, he proceeds : “ However though the building be the same, yet the bottom is different ; the same conclusion being inferred from opposite, yea, contrary premises. Wicked men think this world too good. God knows it is too bad for his servants to live in. Hence-forward I shall not wonder that good men die so soon, but that they live so long, seeing wicked men desire their room here on earth, and God their company in heaven. No wonder then if your good father was so soon translated to happiness, and his *grace* advanced into *glory*. He was pleased to give me a text, some weeks before his death, of the words of our Saviour to the probationer-convert, ‘ Thou art not far from the Kingdom of Heaven ’ (Mark xii. 34) ; that is as the words there impart from the state of Salvation. But before my sermon could be, his life was finished, and he is the real acceptance thereof, possessed of heaven and happiness.

“ Thus was I disappointed (O that this were the greatest loss by the death of so worthy a person) of a patron, to whom I intended the dedication of this first part of my History.

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\* “Appeal,” ch. iv. 4.

"I after was entered on a resolution to dedicate it to his memory, presuming to defend the innocence and harmlessness of such a dedication by precedents of unquestioned antiquity. But I intended also to surround the pages of the dedication with black, not improper as to his relation, so expressive of the present sad condition of our distracted Church.

"But reasonably remembering how the altar 'Ed' (only erected for commemoration) was misinterpreted by the other tribes for superstition (Josh. xxii. 11), I conceived it best to cut off all occasions of cavil from captious persons, and dedicate it to his son and heir.

"Let not your grace be offended, that I make you a patron at the second hand ; for though I confess you are my refuge in relation to your deceased father, you are my choice, in reference to the surviving nobility. God sanctify your tender years with true grace that in time you may be a comfort to your mother, credit to your kindred, and honour to your nation."

The Duke alluded to had retired into private life soon after the execution of the King his kinsman, from the shock of which he never rallied ; "where he was guessed at not known, in the constant exercise of that religion which he and his maintained more effectually with their examples than with their swords, doing as much in encouraging the orthodox by his presence, as in relieving them by his bounty. He pined away in his house, mourning for His Majesty's person, whom he would have died for ; and when that could not be, died with his innocent temper, having rendered him the king's bosom friend, as his conscience made him his good subject." \*

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\* Lloyd's "Memoires," p. 336.

Each of the eleven books is dedicated to some noble patron, and there is a dedication prefixed to every century or section. Altogether there are no fewer than seventy-five dedicatory epistles, addressed to eighty-five patrons or patronesses (for Fuller's gallantry pressed even them into his service), which, if it proves nothing else, shows his great popularity and large acquaintance. It is said that no author has left so long a list of patrons; but Fuller tells us, "many, if not most of my patrons, *invited* themselves, purposely to encourage my endeavours." But whatever may be said of this multiplicity of patrons, we must make allowance for this characteristic of the age in which Fuller wrote; and with regard to their internal merits, they are both an interesting and distinct feature of the work, and their great *biographical* value is everywhere conceded. They invariably discuss some leading idea, some prominent topic, and form, indeed, short but very telling essays. Besides, they attest beyond all things Fuller's loyalty to Church and King, for he mainly selected his Patrons from those noble families who were distinguished for their loyalty to the Monarchy, and were remarkable for their devotion, shown in so many ways, for the old historical Church of the country, when throne and altar were prostrate in the dust. Stout "Church and King" men themselves, they vouch for Fuller's loyalty.

It would be impossible to give even a list of the names of Fuller's patrons, much less to give only short quotations from these pithy and elegant, though often quaint, epistles dedicatory, which were written not only in English, but Latin, a language in which Fuller excelled; our space would forbid, nor is it to the purpose of this work. Much

has been said, and many discussions have been started, on the numbers of our Author's patrons, and his so-called fulsomeness in his addresses. But not only remembering they were Fuller's personal friends, most of them, we cannot refrain from the question, Would this work (Fuller's *magnum opus*) be improved by their absence or omission, and has not English literature been enriched by their production? This should be sufficient to silence all cavillers. We will, however, give one of Fuller's Latin epistles as a specimen.

“DIGNISSIMO DOMINO THOMÆ FISHER, BARONETTO.

“Cum insignia tua Gentilitia intueor, non sum adeo *Heraldicæ artis* ignarus, quin probe sciam, quid sibi velit *manus illa scutello* inserta. Te scilicet *Baronetum* designat, cum omnes in illum *ordinem* co-optati, ex *Institutione* suâ, ad Ultoniam (*Hiberniæ provinciam*), forti dextra defendendam teneantur. At sensum (præter hunc *vulgarem*) alium *latiorem*, et (quoad meipsum) *læteriorem*, *Manui illi expansæ*, quæ in tuo *Clypeo* spectabilis, subesse video. *Index* est summæ tuæ *Munificentie*, quo nomine me tibi divinctissimum profiteor.” (Book xi. sect. 4.)

Like all other great and good men, Fuller had his enemies, and Heylin was his persistent and lifelong antagonist, as we have often had occasion to observe; and he comes into more prominent notice by his attacks on our Author's “Church History.” Barnard (who had married Heylin's daughter), the biographer of Dr. Heylin, thus carries on the caustic warfare in the following exaggerated manner: “When Monarchy and Episcopacy was trodden under foot, then did Heylin stand up a champion and defence of both, and feared not to publish the *Stumbling-*

*block of Disobedience* (1658) and the *Certamen Epistolare* (1659) : in which Mr. Baxter fled the field, because there was *impar congressus* betwixt him and (as I may say) an old soldier of the King's, who had been used to fiercer combats with more famous Goliachs. Also Mr. Thomas Fuller was sufficiently chastised for his *Church History*, as he deserved a most sharp correction, because he had been a son of the Church of England in time of her prosperity, and now deserted her in her adverse fortune, and took to the adversary's side : and it was then my hap, having some business with Mr. Taylor, my fellow collegian in Lincoln College, then Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, to see Mr. Fuller make a fawning address to my Lord, with his great book of *Church History* hugged under his arm, which he presented to the Keeper after an uncouth manner, as Horace describeth :

Sub ala  
Fasciculum portas librorum ut rusticus agnum.

—Ep. i. xiii. 13.

The many falsities, defects, and mistakes of that book the Doctor (Heylin) discovered and refuted."

In the Latin quotation just made, Fuller says he is not ignorant of heraldry, and so we find in nearly every case he gives the *armorial bearings (gentilitia)* of his patrons, which are critically inserted with the initial letters of each chapter. They were done by *Richard Seymere*, Fuller's kinsman, whose assistance the former has acknowledged, debating whether it were better that Seymer should be his friend or kinsman. Upon the plate of the Arms of the Mitred Abbeys there is another mention of Seymer, upon which are engraved the shields of five of the omitted patrons.

"Know, reader," he says, "the cutter in wood being ill, and the Press not staying his recovery, the arms of my Patrons, admitted in the body of the Book, are supplied in these quarters."

Fuller took great delight in heraldry, as his essay on the Good Herald testifies, which will partly account for the lavish profusion of Heraldic display in his works. "He (the good Herald) is a warder in the temple of honour. Mutual necessity made mortal enemies agree in these offices. The lungs of Mars himself would be burnt in pieces having no respiration in a truce. Heralds, therefore, were invented to proclaim peace in war, deliver messages about summons of forts, ransoming of captives, burying the dead, and such like."

As a sort of rider to this Essay our author has given us the life of Mr. W. Cambden. "A most exact antiquary, witness his worthy work, which is a comment on three kingdoms. And never was so large a text more briefly, so dark a text more plainly expounded." Even Heylin acknowledged Fuller's skill in the heraldic art, which, as in the case of Dr. Sanderson, he looked upon as a recreation. One chapter in Book II. of the Church History is entirely devoted to heraldic matters—that on the Roll of Battle Abbey is inserted "by way of *recreation* of the *reader*." It is illustrated by a double-paged plate of the arms of the "Knights joined by the Monks of Ely by William the Conqueror," and this is what he says himself of this interesting chapter: "If any say that I have gone too far in this subject who am no herauld by profession, but only κῆρυξ præco, a crier, in the spiritual acception of the office; yea, that this savours of revenge; as if, because so many in this age invade my

calling, I, in requital, have made incursion into other men's professions. Like men that take *Letters of Mart*, not caring whom they wrong, so they repair themselves; let such know that I venture on heraldry, not as a calling, but as an accessory quality for recreation. And in evidence of my loyalty to the *King of Arms* I submit what here I have written to their censure and correction, who have obliged me unto these by their many and great civilities."

The last part of the folio edition contains a history of Waltham Abbey, one cause of its publication being the hope that "his endeavours herein may prove exemplary to others (who dwell in the sight of remarkable monasteries) to do the like, and rescue the observables of their habitation from the teeth of time and oblivion." He also pleads for such works on the grounds of the ever decreasing number of Church monuments, and relics of ecclesiastical interest.

The principal source of information on the subject was culled from the "Waltham Ledger Book," which had been compiled by a namesake, Robert Fuller, the last of the Lord Abbots. "The book (as appears by many inscriptions in the initial text-letter) was made by himself, having as happy a hand in fair and fast writing as some of his surname since have been defective therein." Nearly the whole ledger, containing 436 folio pages, is in the Abbot's own handwriting, and he has contrived very ingeniously to write his own name on scrolls down the back-strokes of letters nine times. The omissions of the Abbot's handwriting in the ledger consist of the two charters containing his alienation of Copt Hall to Henry VIII.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY. (II.)

"Now next to the Study of the Scriptures, History best becometh a Gentleman ; Church History a Christian ; the British History an Englishman."—(*Church History*: Third Book. Epistle Dedicatory to the Right Honourable William Lord Beauchampe.)

 INSTANLEY in his *English Worthies* thus briefly and fairly speaks of Fuller's principal works: "His writings are very facetious and (where he is careful) judicious. His *Pisgah-Sight* is the exactest, his *Holy War, and State* the wittiest, his *Church History* the unhappiest—written in such a time when he could not do the truth right with safety, nor wrong it with honour, and his *Worthies*, not finished at his death, the most imperfect. As for his other works, he that shall but read FULLER'S name unto them, will not think them otherwise but *worthy of that praise and respect which THE WHOLE NATION afforded unto the author.*" This commendation is noble but well deserved, and is the more valuable, coming, as it does, from one who accounted himself a High Churchman and Fuller a Low one. The remark respecting the difficulty under which he laboured to "do the truth right" is manfully met by Fuller himself in the following passage and others in his "Appeal." "I did not attemper my History to the palate of the Government, so as to sweeten it with any

falsehood : but I made it palatable thus far forth as not to give a wilful disgust to those in present power, and procure danger to myself by using any over-salt, tart, or bitter expression, better forborne than inserted, without any prejudice to the truth."

The amount of labour which Fuller must have gone through in only collecting materials for his voluminous works is something prodigious, and his care and activity in collating the best original sources of information something marvellous. Some idea of the sources whence he derived the materials of the work under review may be seen from his own statement, in reply to Heylin's uncharitable insinuation. "*1. All passages of Church-concernment, from the reign of Henry III. until King Henry VI., I got exactly written and attested out of the Records in the Tower.*" Our Author calls these records "the author of authors for English History." He expressed a hope that they might be long preserved, "in defiance of barbarous anarchy, which otherwise would make a bonefire, or new light of these precious documents." They bear the attestation of Mr. W. Ryley, Norroy King of Arms, a great friend of Fuller, to whom he acted as a prince, giving him his pains. "*2. The most material transactions in all Convocations since the Reformation till the time of Queen Elizabeth (save that sometimes the Journals be very defective, which was no fault of mine) I transcribed out of the registers of Canterbury.*" Access to these documents was afforded Fuller by their custodian, Wm. Somner, "my good friend and great antiquary of Canterbury."

Somner is said also to have advised Fuller as to his wit in the "Church History." "(3.) *I have by much labour procured*

*many letters and other rarities which formerly did never see the light, out of the library of Sir Thomas Cotton and others."* Fuller, in company with many other writers, testifies to the courtesy of Sir Thomas, who was the son of Sir Robert Cotton, the eminent antiquary, in placing his magnificent library, which was at Westminster, and celebrated for its great variety and method, "our English Vatican for MSS." at his disposal. "Give me leave," says Fuller in his "*Worthies*," "to register myself amongst the meanest of those, who through the favour of Sir Thomas Cotton (inheriting as well the courtesy as estate of his father, Sir Robert) have had admittance to that worthy treasury."

Fuller must have been very diplomatic to have got access to this and other private libraries, a matter usually of considerable difficulty. It is said that he knew every collection of books in the kingdom. Of public libraries he puts Oxford facillime princeps, both for rarity and multitude of books, standing Diana-like among her sister nymphs; Benet College, Cambridge, was famous for its MSS. and Parkerian records; and Cambridge, lately augmented by the Archiepiscopal library in Lambeth was second in the land. With regard to *private* libraries, Archbishop Ussher's was, he said, best for a *divine*; Lord Lumley's for an *historian*; Lord Burghley's for a *statesman*; Earl of Arundel's for a *herald*; and Sir Robert Cotton's for an *antiquary*.

"4. *The learned Mr. Selden (on his own desire) honoured my first four centuries with reading, and returned them unto me some weeks after, without any considerable alteration.*" With regard to Selden's erudition Fuller remarks, "lay gentlemen prefer his *Titles of honour*; lawyers his *Mare Clausum*; antiquaries his *Spicilegium ad Edmearum*; clergymen like

best his book *De Diis Syris*, and worst his *History of Tithes*. Commenting on his riches he drily proceeds, “He had very many ancient coins of the Roman Emperors, and *more modern ones of our English Kings*, dying (Nov., 1654) exceeding wealthy.” Ussher preached his funeral sermon, and Fuller adds, “The large library which he left is a jewel indeed. Now it is reposed (*Bodley* within a *Bodley*) in the matchless library of Oxford. Several of Fuller’s works, it is a pleasing evidence of their friendship, is in this collection.

“5. *The best antiquaries of England (amongst whom the Archbishop of Armagh, it being not then my happiness to be known to the learned and religious Sir R. Twisden) I consulted with. These now I forbear to name lest I remove and divert the animadverter’s anger on them from myself, who am (though not the most able) the best prepared to endure his displeasure.*” We have already had to notice Fuller’s gratitude to Ussher, who was living in London, by permission of the Commonwealth. He supplied Fuller with many papers and oral information, which are inserted in the *Church History*, who spoke of him as “that mirror of learning and religion never to be named by me without thanks to him, and to God for him.” To this prelate our author dedicated the second section of his *Universal History*, remarking that he had never consulted him without having his doubts dispelled, and his studies furthered. Sir R. Twysden was the author of a very valuable work on the *Historical Defence of the Church of England*, and a most reliable antiquary, “it being questionable,” says Fuller, “whether his industry, judgment, or humility were the greatest.” Having suffered much at the hands of both parties in the Civil War, he returned to his place in Kent, and devoted himself to literature.

Among other antiquarian friends who assisted Fuller in the compilation of this great work we may mention Elias Ashmole, Esq., "Critically, skilled in ancient coins, chemistry, heraldry, mathematics, what not."\* Sir Simon Archer, of Tamworth, to whom he was indebted for his MS. roll of Battle Abbey; his friend Mr. Hanson, keeper of the records of the Duchy of Lancaster, who not only "lent much light to my lamp out of choice records (some in his possession, more in his custody) but also hath given much oil thereunto in his bountifully encouraging of my endeavours"; Mr. T. Barlow, of Queens' College, his "worthy friend," a "library in himself, and keeper of another" (Bodley's); Mr. More, Fellow of Caius College, "his worthy friend," an industrious and judicious antiquary, contributed many Cambridge rarities; and Mr. S. Roper, of Lincoln's Inn, "that skilful antiquary, and my respected kinsman."†

With regard to the sources of his materials for his "Ecclesiastical History," Fuller finishes in these words, "Give me leave to add that a greater volume of general Church-History might be made with less time, pains, and cost; for in the making thereof, I had straw provided me to burn my bricks; I mean, could find what I needed in printed books. Whereas in this *British Church History*, I must (as well as I could) provide my own straw; and my pains have been scattered all over the land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript material."‡

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\* "Worthies" Staffordshire, p. 416.

† "Church History," vi. 358.

‡ "Appeal," Part 1, 23, 24.

These facts will give the reader some idea of the immense labour, to say nothing of the great expense involved in writing a work of such importance and size as the Church History. The names of his various friends is legion, too numerous to write out, who assisted Fuller with MSS. and old records, which he characterized as the stairs whereby antiquarians climb up into the knowledge of former times. Many of these records, containing much illustrative matter, had been scattered over the land by the civil wars. Fuller says in one of his dedications, “One (if not the only) good which our Civil War hath produced, is, that in the ransacking of studies, many manuscripts, which otherwise would have remained concealed, and useful only for private persons, have been printed for the public benefit.”\*

In the same work we have another allusion to these publications : “ Surely that industrious Bee (an able stationer in Little Britain, London) hath in our age merited much of posterity, having lately, with great cost and care, enlarged many manuscripts of monks (formerly confined to private libraries) that now they may take the free air, and being printed, may publicly walk abroad.”† Of course in compiling such huge and varied materials, and collecting them from every nook and corner of the empire, there is an antecedent probability that our Author could not always be certain of his facts. This may account for the inaccuracy which Collier points out in *his Ecclesiastical History*, in Fuller’s account of the *details* of the marriage of King Charles with the French King’s sister. He is relating the

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\* “ Hist. Cambridge,” iv. 5.

† Book vi., 298.

Queen's arrival at Dover, and conveyance to London, and goes on to remark, "But here Fuller mistakes in relating a chapel was prepared for her in Somerset House, with a convent of Capuchin friars ; for 1st, the Chapel then ready was not prepared for her, but the Lady Infanta ; it was built in the King's House at St. James, when the treaty with Spain was likely to succeed. 2ndly. The articles of marriage make no mention of Capuchin friars, as Fuller reports. The priests, who came over with the Queen, were by agreement all Oratorians, this order being likely to prove more inoffensive to the English, as having given them no provocation."\*

But the insertion of these State Papers, first published in Fuller's "Church History," gave a special value to the work, and became an important reference for all ecclesiastical annals of the country, especially with regard to the old Historical and National Church. This value was foreseen by the author himself, when he incidentally remarked that he had "written a book for Eternity." Considering the time in, and circumstances under, which it was written, it is wonderful that the defects are so few and far between, which, however, will never prevent it keeping its place as a standard work. Even Bishop Nicholson acknowledged its merits, though he accorded to it a qualified commendation. "If it were possible," he says, "to refine it well, the work would be of great use ; since there are in it some things of Moment, hardly to be had elsewhere, which may often illustrate dark passages in more serious writers. These are not to be despised where his authorities are cited, and

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\* Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," viii. 2.

appear credible ; but otherwise (wherein he's Singular, and without his vouchers) μεμνήσω ἀπίστειν."

Burnet avers that he cannot stir but as Fuller leads him, thanks him for his pains in copying out journals of Convocations, containing remarkable things, which would otherwise have been lost. Even Heylin, who abuses our author so freely, made use of him in writing his life of Laud, and many other writers have acknowledged their indebtedness to him.

"Wit was the substance and substratum of Fuller's intellect," says Samuel Taylor Coleridge. "It was the element and earthen base, the material which he worked in, and this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thoughts, for the beauty of the truths, into which he shaped the stuff." This applies especially to his *Church History*, where his wit scintillates even to efflorescence, and he scatters his gem-like witticisms with prodigal luxuriance, studded over this grave and solemn subject, which, however, they make to sparkle and glow. We find everywhere

‘Quips and cranks and wanton wiles,  
Nods and becks and wreathed smiles.’

To take only a few specimens. A certain monk's verses are said to have been as bald as his head ; and the scourging friars to have made vellum of their own skin. Edward VI., by intemperance in his diet in some sort, to have dug his own grave with his own teeth ; and Cardinal Pole is said to have *Italianated* himself through living in England. Fuller's earth a precious commodity. The history (coming of Joseph of Arimathæa into Britain) full of dross, when it cometh to the Touch. After "More," no more. In fact

they are sown broadcast over the work. "He has made (says Oldys, who defended Fuller's use of wit) even *Church History* diverting without making a diversion of the Church." Fuller never misapplied his wit, or lost sight of its object.

Fuller was not a mere jester, nor (be this remembered to his honour, especially under his very exceptional circumstances) was his wit ever ill-natured or cutting, beneath which there was always a substratum of good common sense. This combination of wit and wisdom in our Author is thus spoken of by a careful writer: "The power of wit to combine itself harmoniously and vigorously with sagacity and seriousness is eminently exemplified in all the works of that remarkable author of the seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller, whose wit, in the largeness of its circuit, the variety of its expression, its exuberance, and its admirable sanity, stands only second to that of Shakespeare. It has the indispensable merit of perfect naturalness, and the excellence of being a growth from a soil of sound wisdom. There are no large works in our language so thoroughly ingrained with wit and humour as *Fuller's Worthies*, his *Church History* no less so. The genius of Fuller is, perhaps, unequalled in harmonizing a play upon words, quiet jocularity, kindly irony, with thoughtfulness and genuine earnestness, and in making the transition from quaintness to sublimity."\* Of Fuller's wit, we may indeed say that it never was meant to sting or wound the feelings; nor was his pen ever dipped in the gall of bitterness or intolerance. It is used very gently and kindly, and there is an absence of all abuse of this giant-like power.

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\* "Reed's Introduction to English" p. 211.

It is the opposite to that of Desiderius Erasmus, the author of the famous colloquies, who, according to Fuller, “was a badger in his jeers, when he did bite, he would make his teeth meet.” A Scotch professor has said that Fuller was certainly one of the greatest and truest wits that ever lived ; he is witty, not by any sort of effort at all, but as it were in spite of himself, or because he cannot help it.\*

We shall not be surprised to find that this work of Fuller’s sparkling all over with wit, enlivened with illustrations, stories, telling anecdotes, and piquant narration, received the commendation of Isaac Walton, the learned author and great piscatorial authority, whose *Compleat Angler* appeared about this time. Isaac, who in writing that book which has been the admiration of his “disciples of the rod and line,” made a recreation of a recreation, often visited the river Lea with his piscatorial friends “to throw a fly.” During one of these rambles, and according to Oldys, when he was engaged on his life of the Judicious Hooker, he called on his friend Fuller for information on a subject of which he was an authority; a pleasant conversation ensued, illustrating the happy jocularity of both parties. Knowing his intimacy with the Bishops and many of the old régime, our author asked him what he thought of his recently published work on *Church History*, and then what reception it had had at the hands of his friends. Walton replied, that he thought it should be acceptable to all tempers, because there were in it *shades* for the warm and *sunshine* for those of cold constitution ; that with youthful

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\* “Lit. Learning,” iv. 73.

readers the facetious parts would be profitable to make the serious more palatable, while some reverend old readers might fancy themselves in this History of the Church in a flower garden, or one full of evergreens."

"And why not the *Church History* so decked" said Fuller, as well as the Church itself at a most *holy season*, or the Tabernacle of old, at the *Feast of Boughs?*"

"That was but for a season," replied Walton to his very portly friend, in *your Feast of Boughs* they may conceive we are so overshadowed throughout, that the parson is more seen than his congregation, and this sometimes invisible to its own acquaintance, who may wander in the search till lost in the labyrinth."

"Oh," replied Fuller, quite ready with his repartee, "the *children* of our Israel may find their way out of this Wilderness." "True," returned the witty angler, "as indeed they have here such a Moses to conduct them." (Biog. Brit., iii. 2061).

Alliteration abounds every where in the *Church History*. Thus "Wyatt is well-born, well-allied, well-learned, and well-loved, wanting neither wit, wealth, or valour." Again, "Victorious bays bear only barren berries." "He writes *right* who writes *wrong* if following his copy." "Where goeth the purse, there goeth the poor." This peculiarity is also exemplified in the titles of his sections, or paragraphs, thus for instance, we have "Sin plot, sin pay for." "Women's brawls, men's thralls." "New Lady (Queen Mary) New Laws."

The Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench) has thus written on the treasury of aphoristic utterances to be found in our Author's writings :

"Proverbs witty in themselves, often become wittier still in their application, like gems that acquire new brilliancy by their setting, or from some novel light in which they are held. No writer that I know of has a happier skill in thus adding wit to the witty than Fuller, the Church Historian. Let me confirm this assertion by one or two examples drawn from his writings. He is describing the indignation, the outcries, the remonstrances which the thousandfold extortions, the intolerable exactions of the Papal See, gave birth to in England during the reigns of such subservient kings as our *Third Henry*. Yet he will not have his readers to suppose that the Popes fared a whit the worse for all this outcry which was raised against them: not so, for *the fox thrives best when he is most cursed*; the very loudness of the clamour was itself rather an evidence how well they were faring. Or, again, he is telling of that Duke of Buckingham, well known to us through *Shakespeare's Richard the Third*, who, having helped the tyrant to a throne, afterwards took mortal displeasure against him: this displeasure he sought to hide till a season arrived for showing it with effect, in the deep of his heart, but in vain, for, as Fuller observes, *It is hard to halt before a cripple*: the arch-hypocrite Richard, he to whom dissembling was a second nature, saw through and detected at once the shallow Buckingham's clumsier deceit; and the *Church History* abounds with similar happy applications. Fuller, indeed, possesses so much of the wit, out of which proverbs spring, that it is not difficult to tell whether he is adducing a proverb or uttering some *proverb-like* saying of his own. Thus I cannot remember ever to have met any of the following, which yet sound like proverbs

—the first on solitude, as preferable to ill companionship, ‘*Better ride alone than have a thief's company*’ (*Holy State*, Bk. iii, c. 5); and in this he was against despising in any the tokens of honourable toil. ‘*Mock not a cobbler for his black thumbs.*’”

Fuller was great in digressions, and there was a method in all this, for it just suited his genius, securing for himself “the larger licence of rambling.” “Never was there such a medley,” says Professor Rogers. “The praise of method and regularity (if indeed he formed any notion of these) he coveted little, compared with the full indulgence of his vagrant and gossiping humour. He loved, like Edie Ochiltree, ‘to daunder along the green lanes,’ to leave the dusty high-road of continuous history, and solace himself in every ‘by-path meadow’ that invited his feet by its softness and verdure. Of the several paragraphs into which the *Church History* is divided (most of them introduced by some quaint title) many are as little connected with Church-History as the history of China. Thus in one short “section” comprising the period from 1330 to 1361, we find “paragraphs” relating to “the ignorance of English in curious clothing,” to “fuller's earth,” which he tells us was a precious commodity, to “the manufacture of woollen cloth,” and to the “sumptuary laws which restrained excess in apparel.” Lest any should at *first sight* fail to see the perfect congruity of such topics, he engages, with matchless effrontery, to show the connection between them. His reasons are so very absurd, and given so much in his own manner, that we cannot refrain from citing them. “But enough of this subject, which none condemn for a *deviation* from Church-History; First, because it would not grieve

one to go *a little* out of the way, if the way be good, as this digression is for the credit and profit of our country. Secondly, it reductively belongeth to the Church-History, seeing many poor people, young and old, formerly charging the parishes (as appeared by the accounts of the church officers), were hereby enabled to maintain themselves.”\* His besetment is evident on other occasions. Thus, speaking of the evasion of the order (1646) for the fifth part of ministers’ estates to go to the families of ministers ejected, he says: “Nor let any censure this a digress from my history, for though my estate will not suffer me with Job to be ‘eyes to the blind and feet to the lame,’ I will endeavour what I can to be a tongue to the dumb.” Once he finds himself going off into particulars of the Civil War; “I seasonably remember that the church is my castle, viz., that the writing thereof is my house and home, wherein I may stand on my own defence against all who assault me. It was good counsel King Joash gave to King Amaziah, ‘Tarry at home.’ The practice whereof shall, I hope, secure me from many mischiefs.” (Ch. Hist., xi. 205.) In passing, we would draw attention to Fuller’s marvellous knowledge of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and the dexterous manner in which he critically applies his quotations, reminding one of that comprehensive knowledge of the *whole* of the Scriptures, not favourite portions only, which distinguished the mediæval Church.

From the very first the value of this work was apparent, and it at once took a high place, and filled an important niche in the temple of literature. The frequent allusions

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\* Prof. Roger’s Essay, p. 43

to it by writers in every age, and its re-issue in our own, attest the favourable verdict with which it has been all along and is still appreciated by men of letters. Fuller had an unbroken chain of admirers, Forde, and Pepys, and Durley, from Walton (whom we have just alluded to) down to Southey, who used our Author's book pretty freely in writing his interesting *Book of the Church*, and who quotes him always with approval, calling him the best natured of historians.

We will conclude this chapter with three quotations : from the (Low Church) Bishop Burnet, the (Broad Church) Bishop Warburton, and the (High Church) layman Samuel Taylor Coleridge, criticising the efforts of our Church Historian. Bishop Burnet writes : " He got into his hands some few papers that were not seen before he published them ; but being a man of fancy, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great satisfaction. But Dr. Heylin wrote smoothly and handsomely : his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him ; but either he was ill-improved or very much led by his passions : and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner, and so strangely, that one would think that he had been secretly sent on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits."

Bishop Warburton gives his opinion in the following language: " Our repeated complaints of the defective state of the general history of the Church of England amongst us extends to the *ecclesiastical* as well as to the civil History

of Great Britain. There are only two writers of the general history of our Church who deserve the name of historians—Collier the nonjuror, and Fuller the jester. The first hath written with sufficient dignity, elegance, and spirit, but hath dishonoured and debased his whole work with the absurd and slavish tenets of the High Churchman ; the other is composed with better temper, and on better principles, and with sufficient care and attention, but worked on a slight fantastic ground, and in a style of buffoon pleasantry altogether unsuitable to so grave and important a subject. Yet much may be learnt from it; much, indeed, to avoid as well as to improve.”

On the other hand, it was the perusal of this marvellous volume which called forth this eloquent effusion, this glowing eulogy, warm from the loving heart of that fine brain, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, written by his own hand at the end of his own copy, and very appropriately forms a part of his interesting *Literary Remains*: “Next to Shakespeare, I am not certain whether Thomas Fuller, beyond all others, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous : the degree in which any given faculty or combination of faculties is possessed and manifested, so far surpassing what one would have thought possible in a single mind, as to give one’s admiration the flavour and quality of wonder. Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller’s intellect. It was the element, the earthern base, the material which he worked in ; and this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise—for the practical wisdom of the thoughts, for the beauty and variety of the truths, into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that

boasted a galaxy of great men. He is a very voluminous writer ; and yet, in all his numerous volumes on so many different subjects, it is scarcely too much to say, that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself as motto or as maxim. God bless thee, dear old man ! may I meet with thee ! which is tantamount to—May I go to Heaven !—July, 1829."

To offer any criticism in abatement of this just encomium would, we feel, be useless verbiage : we leave it, therefore, as the best introduction to the perusal of our Author, and his celebrated work on the Church History of Britain.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY (III).

"Were it in my power I would have built a Church where I only made my *Church History*."—(*Appeal*, pt. I. p. 51.)

E have been pausing too long in the vestibule, contemplating the externals of this remarkable literary edifice, and it is now time that we should enter the building itself, and see some of its internal beauties and gem-like realizations. Outside we may admire the architecture of a building, its structural form, its arches, towers, and windows; but when we proceed inside, its beauties become revealed to us. The manifestations of the architect's genius makes itself felt as we gaze up into fretted roof, walk under the groined arches, scan the vista of nave and aisle, look up at the traceried windows, with their coloured glass throwing their warmth and colouring around, and admire the mosaic and mural decorations.

We will enter, then, and take an internal view of our Author's literary effort. And in such a very voluminous work we shall content ourselves with a few extracts (and they must be few, owing to the nature of this work) as a specimen of the whole. The work embraces the history of the Church of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ to the death of Charles I., and is divided (as we have already said) into eleven books, the twelfth being the History of

Cambridge (with which the History of Waltham Abbey is bound up); and in the folio edition which we are consulting, the "Appeal of Injured Innocence" (that is, Fuller's reply to Heylin's most uncharitable and unwarrantable attack on the Church History) is also bound up, making a sort of thirteenth book. But practically the History consists of eleven books.

In the first book he gives us an insight into the faith and practices of our heathen ancestors. The Druids, it is well known, had great influence with the people, and their monumental relics, stone avenues, basins, logans, kistavens, and hut circles, are well known to tourists and antiquarians in such places as Dartmoor, where they are to be found in prodigal confusion; such names as Wistman's Wood, *i.e.*, "the grove of the wise men," having come to us as a tradition. Fuller thus alludes to the Druids and the Bards: "Two sorts of people," he said, "were most honoured amongst the Britons: (1) Druids, who were their philosophers, divines, lawyers; (2) Bards, who were their prophets, poets, historians. The former were so called from  $\delta\rho\tilde{\nu}s$ , signifying generally 'a tree,' and properly 'an oak,' under which they used to perform their forms and ceremonies, an idolatry whereof the Jews themselves had been guilty, for which the prophet threateneth them, 'They shall be ashamed of the oaks which they have desired' (Is. i. 29). But the signal oak which the Druids made choice of was such a one on which mistletoe did grow: by which privy token they conceived God marked it out as of sovereign virtue for His services.\* Under this tree, on the sixth

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\* "Pliny's Nat. Hist.", lib. vi. cap. 44.

day of the moon (whereon they began their year), they invoked their idols, and offered two white bulls, filleted in the horns, with many other ceremonies. Those Pagan priests never wrote anything, so to procure the greater veneration to their mysteries: men being bound to believe that it was some great treasure locked up in such great secrecy." He then speaks of the Bards: "The Bards were next the Druids in general, and played excellently in their songs on the harps: whereby they had great operation on the vulgar, surprising them into civility unawares—they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetened with music. These, also, to preserve their ancestors from corruption, embalmed their memories in rhyming verses, which looked both backward in their relations, and forward in their predictions: so that their confidence, meeting with the credulity of others, advanced their wild conjectures to the reputation of prophecies. The immortality of the soul they did not flatly deny, but falsely believe, disguised under the opinion of trans-animation, conceiving that dying men's souls afterwards passed into other bodies, either preferred to better or condemned to worse, according to their former good or ill behaviour. This made them condemn death, and always maintain erected resolutions; counting a valiant death the best of bargains, wherein they did not lose, but lay out their lives to advantage. Generally they were great magicians, insomuch that Pliny saith that the very Persians, in some sort, might seem to have learned their magic from the Britons."\*

In discussing the introduction of Christianity into Britain,

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\* "Plin. Nat. Hist.", lib. xxx.

Fuller combats the four arguments of Parsons, the Jesuit, that St. Peter preached the Gospel to the Britons, and thus speaks of the platform of the most ancient church in Britain, A.D. 64 : “ In this small oratory (at Glastonbury), Joseph (of Arithmathæa), with his companions, watched, prayed, fasted, preached, having *high* meditation under a *low* roof, and *large* hearts betwixt *narrow* walls. If credit may be given to these authors, this Church without competition, was senior to the Christian churches in the world. Let not these stately modern churches disdain to stoop with their highest steeples, reverently doing homage to this poor structure, as their first platform and precedent is the same in soundness of doctrine, and sanctity of life, with that faith which by St. Paul in the Roman Church was then so highly commended.

“ And let their chequered pavement no more disdain the oratory’s plain floor, than her thatched covering doth envy their leaden roofs. And although now it is meet that church-buildings as well as private houses, partaking of the peace and prosperity of our age, should be both in their cost and cunning increased (far be that pride and profaneness from any, to account nothing either too fair for man, or too foul for God). Yet it will not be amiss to desire that our judgement may be so much the clearer in matters of truth, and our lives so much the purer in conversation, by how much our churches are more light, and our buildings more beautiful than they were.”

Fuller thus concludes the history of the first century :— “ Hereby (quoting Romans i. 8) the Jesuit (Parsons) still hopes to keep on foot the engagement of this island to Rome for her first conversion. But why should he call the

Christian religion ‘the Roman faith,’ rather than ‘the faith of Jerusalem,’ or ‘the faith of Antioch?’ seeing it issued from the former, and was received and first named in the latter city, before any spark of Christianity was kindled at Rome. But what is the main, he may sooner prove the modern Italian tongue, now spoken in Rome, to be the self-same in property and purity, with the Latin tongue in Tully’s time, than that the religion professed in that city at this day, with all the errors and superstitions thereof.”

Coming to the fifth century, and arguing that Pelagius was no Doctor of Cambridge, but a monk of Bangor, he says, “It is memorable what one relates that the same day whereon Pelagius was born in Britain, St. Augustine was also born in Africa, Divine Providence so disposing it, that the poison should be twins in a manner, in respect of the same time. . . . And yet this sounds much to the commendation of Cambridge, that, like a pure crystal glass, it would prefer rather to fly a-piece, and be dissolved, than to endure poison put into it: according to the character which John Lidgate (a wit of those times) gave of his University:—

‘Cambrege of heresy, ne’er bore the blame.’”

Fuller sums up the errors of Pelagius under four principal heads. “These are the main (1) that a man might be saved without God’s grace, by his own merits and free will. (2). That infants were born without original sin, and were as innocent as Adam before his fall. (3). That they were baptized, not to be freed from sin, but thereby to be adopted into the kingdom of God. (4). That Adam died, not by reason of his sin, but by the condition of nature, and that he should have died, albeit he had not had sinned.”

“But to recount the learned work of Fathers written, their pious sermons preached, would amount to a volume fitted for a porter’s back to bear, than a scholar’s brain to peruse. I decline the employment both as over-painful, and nothing proper to our business in hand (fearing to cut my fingers if I put my sickle into other men’s corn): these things being transacted beyond the seas, and not belonging to the British History ; the rather, because it cannot be proved that Pelagius in person ever dispersed his poison in this island, but ranging abroad (perchance because this false prophet counted himself without honour in his own country) had his emissaries here, and principally Agricola, the son of Severian, a Bishop.”

In his account of the seventh century, Fuller discusses the question of Augustine (of Canterbury) being a party to the murder of the monks of Bangor. He follows Fox, the martyrologist, and leaves the point undecided. Jewel is very copious in endeavouring to fix the crime on Augustine, in his apology. This is what Fuller says on this head. “But here some birds sing a different note from the rest, which must be listened unto, namely, such authors, considerable for their number, gravity, and learning, who accuse this Augustine for the designer of the death and destruction of these innocent British monks, so that he cunningly foretold, what he himself cruelly intended to fulfil. Thus well might Jezebel, who “ calleth herself a prophetess,” (Rev. ii. 20) certainly foreshow the death of Naboth, for denying his vineyard to Ahab, when she had beforehand packed and plotted the same : a heavy accusation, if true, that ‘Augustine,’ (to use my friend’s expression )\* ‘*Gregorii*

\* Mr. Abraham Wheelock, in his “Notes on Bede,” p. 115.

*vicarius*, should be *gregis sicarius*: et ecclesiæ futuræ Anglicanæ conversor, should be præsentis Britannicæ evensor, so that, instead of a prophet's reward, he deserved the punishment of a murderer.' But, to clear this point, conceive we a grand jury of four and twenty judicious readers empaneled, before whom the memory of Augustine is indicted of *murder*, and witnesses produced on both sides. Let none censure me, if in these proceedings my pen fails in legal formalities; such exactness not being by me intended, but only some general conformity with a law-trial, to fix the history in our fancies with more pleasure and delight." He then produces witnesses against him, and testimonies on his behalf, quoting paragraphs in Bede's testimony, and shows how Mr. Fox's moderation much moveth the jury. "This, I say, prevailed so far with the jury, that consulting with themselves they found an *ignoramus*: with whose commendable charity I concur, preferring rather to clear a twilight innocence into noon-day, than to darken it into midnight."

The controversy between the East and West is well known, as to the keeping of Easter; the same was waged also between Rome and the Britons. "It was enough to prove the practice of Rome was right; that it was the practice of Rome; yea, did it not deserve the stab of excommunication for any dissenting from her practice, tantamountingly to give her the lie. However, it seems the reputation of Rome's infallibility was yet in the nonage thereof, that the British durst so boldly differ from them without danger of damnation. Yea they (the Britons) pretended ancient tradition on their side, from the primitive times, derived from S. John himself: as by the ensu-

ing verses, which we thought fit to translate may appear:—

Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta, tenemus.  
Discipulo Eusebii Polycarpo dante Johannis  
Hic etenim bis septenæ sub tempore Phœbæ  
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,  
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.

“No writings fond we follow, but do hold  
Our country course, which Polycarp of old,  
Scholar to blessed John, to us hath given.  
For he, when the moon hath finished days twice seven,  
Bade us to keep the holy Paschal time,  
And count dissenting for an heinous crime.”

“Time was, when once the activity of Peter and John with holy zeal was excellently employed, contending in a race, which should come first to the grave of our Saviour (John xx. 4); but see here the Romans and the Britons, the pretended followers of these two Apostles, not running, but wrestling in a violent contention, who should most truly observe the resurrection of Christ out of His grave.”

This difference was set on foot fifty years before Augustine came into England. The following is a translation from a Welsh Chronicle:—

“Woe be to that priest yborn  
That will not cleanly weed his corn,  
And preach his charge among.  
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,  
That will not watch his fold alway,  
As to his office doth belong.  
Woe be to him that doth not keep  
From Romish wolves his sheep,  
With staff and weapon strong.”

These words, “from Romish wolves,” relate to the vigilance of the British pastors to keep their people from Rome’s infection on these points. Thus whilst the Britons accounted the Romans “wolves,” and the Romans held the Britons to be “goats,” what became of Christ’s little flock of sheep the while? The best is, the good God, we hope, will be merciful in his sentence on men, though passionate men be merciless in their censures on one another.”

This is what Fuller says of the first Lent kept in England, A.D. 640: “This year the first Lent was kept in England—conceive it in those parts thereof which obeyed the Roman celebration of Easter. Otherwise it is suspicious that the quartadecimans were no good *quadragesimarians* and no such conscientious observers of Lent on the Romish account. Surely if people were taught in Lent to fast (as from flesh so) from a proud and false opinion of meriting thereby, policy would be well pleased, and piety not offended at the observing thereof: whilst Continent-countries might keep it without any loss to their souls, and islands with great gain to their estates.”

The eleventh century concludes with a brief sketch of the Anglo-Saxon Church, “a breviate of the doctrine of England in those ages before the Norman Conquest.” Fuller refers his readers for a more complete account to *Ussher’s Religion Possessed by the Ancient Irish and British*. We recommend those persons who wish to go into this subject, if they cannot peruse the pages of Mr. Soames’ book, to study a brief but very comprehensive view of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in the first chapter of that most reliable and valuable work, a *Sketch of the Reformation in England*, by

the late Professor Blunt, Margaret Professor of Theology in Cambridge, one of the soundest and safest guides of modern times in theology.

Our Author says, “To make this mutation,” (*i.e.*, the manifest change of religion from what formerly was publicly professed in England before the Conquest) “in its due time more conspicuous, we will here conclude this book with a brief character of the principal doctrines taught and believed by the English in these four last centuries, before tainted with any Norman infection. For though we must confess and bemoan that corruptions crept into the Church by degrees, and divine worship began to be clogged with superstitious ceremonies, yet that the doctrine remained still sound and entire, in most material points, will appear by an induction of the dominative controversies wherein we differ from the Church of Rome. *Scripture generally read.* For such as were with the holy Bishop Aidan, *sive attonsi sive laici*, “either clergy or laity” were tied to exercise themselves in reading the Holy Word, and learning of Psalms. *The original preferred.* According to the epigram by Shumarch, a Briton, a right learned and godly clerk, son to Sulgen, Bishop of St. David’s. *No prayers for the dead, in the modern notion of Papists.* For though we find prayers for the dead, yet they were not in the nature of propitiation for their sins, or to procure relaxation from their sufferings, but were only an honourable commemoration of their memories, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation. *Purgatory, though newly hatched, not yet fledged.* For, although there are frequent visions and revelations in this age pretended, thereon to build purgatory, which had no foundation in Scripture : yet the architects of that fanciful

fabric had not so handsomely contrived it, as it stands at this day in the Romish belief. For Bede, out of the vision of Fursens, relateth certain great fires above the air, appointed to ‘examine every one according the merits of his work,’ differing from the Papist’s purgatory, which Bellarmine, by the common consent of the schoolmen, determineth to be within the bowels of the earth. Thus nothing can be invented and perfected at once. *Communion under both kinds.* For Bede relateth, that one Hildmer, an officer of Egfride, King of Northumberland, entreated our Cuthbert to send a priest that might minister the Sacrament of the Lord’s Body and Blood unto his wife, that then lay a-dying. And Cuthbert himself, immediately before his departure out of this life, received the communion of the Lord’s Body and Blood. And lest any should fondly hope to decline so pregnant an instance, by the novel conceit of concomitancy (a distinction that could not speak, because it was not born in that age) punctually noted that he distinctly received the cup :—

Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum  
Sanguine munit iter.

‘ His voyage steep the easier to climb up  
Christ’s blood he drank out of life’s healthful cup.’

So that the Eucharist was then administered entire, and not maimed, as it is by Papists at this day, serving it as Hanum, the Ammonite, did the clothes and beards of David’s ambassadors (2. Sam., x., 4.), cutting it off at the middle. And though the word ‘Mass,’ was frequent in that age, generally expressing all Divine Service, yet was it not known to be offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.”

Dr. Heylin objected to the miscellaneous nature of Fuller's history, and its comprising much civil history and many digressions more pleasant than profitable. But our Author had a good motive for what he did, and with his peculiar genius it was impossible for a work from his pen to have been devoid of much entertainment and even diversion. Thus the *Roll of Battle Abbey*, at the end of the second Book, is a book of itself. But who would complain that such an agreeable supplement was added to the preceding history? A supplement in part original, and a subject not deemed unworthy of a place in the voluminous works of John Fox, in his *Martyrology*. At the beginning of the fourth Century, Fuller gives us a brief notice of the English School-Divines, as also of the enormous exactions of the Pope in that age, not overlooking one of the most marvellous of the Jesuit Harding's many falsehoods, that "the Pope's yearly gains out of England were but as a gnat to an elephant."

Nothing can show more decidedly the impartial spirit of our Author than his delineation of Wickliffe and his doctrines, about whose Quincentenary we have heard so much of late. "Being to write the history of Wickliffe," says Fuller, "I intend neither to deny, dissemble, defend, or excuse any of his faults. 'We have this treasure,' saith the Apostle, 'in earthen vessels,' and he that shall endeavour to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose; yea, should I be over officious to retain myself to plead for Wickliffe's faults, that glorious Saint would sooner chide than thank me, unwilling that in favour of him truth should suffer prejudice. He was a man, and so subject to error, living in a dark age, more

obnoxious to stumble ; vexed with opposition, which makes men reel into violence ; and therefore it is unreasonable that the constitution and temper of his positive opinions should be guessed by his *polemical heats* when he was chafed in disputation. But besides all these, envy hath falsely fathered many foul aspersions upon him."

Fuller had spoken of Wickliffe's success, as the success of the Gospel. "The Romanists observe that several advantages concurred to the speedy propagation of Wickliffe's opinions, as namely, the decrepit age of Edward III., and infancy of Richard, his successor, being but a child, as his grandfather was twice a child, so that the reins of authority were let loose. Secondly, the attractive nature of novelty drawing followers unto it. Thirdly, the enmity which John of Gaunt bore unto the Clergy, which made him out of opposition to favour the doctrine and person of Wickliffe. Lastly, the envy which the Pope had contracted by his exaction and collations of ecclesiastical benefices. We deny not these helps were instrumentally active in their several degrees, but must attribute the main to Divine Providence blessing the *Gospel*, and to the nature of truth itself, which though for a time violently suppressed, will seasonably make its own free and clear passage into the world."\*

Fuller defends himself by remarking that it was "Christ's Gospel preached by Wickliffe in a purer manner than in that age (thanks to God it was then so good) impurer than in our age, thanks to God it now is better." †

\* "Appeal," pt. ii., p. 110.

† "Sketch of Reformation," p. 96.

Great was the success of the Gospel when Wickliffe gave to his countrymen his translation of the *New Testament*, of which Professor Blunt observes, “at this day it might be read in our churches without the necessity of many even verbal alterations, and on comparing it with the authorised version of King James, it will be found that the latter was hammered on Wickliffe’s anvil.”

Dr. Heylin had said “if the doctrine of Wickliffe must be called the Gospel, what shall become of the Gospel—what shall become of the religion then established in this realm of England, and in most other parts of the Western world ?”

To this Fuller replies, “Far be it from me to account the rest of England relapsed into Atheism, or lapsed in Judaism ; Turcism, &c., whom I behold as *erroneous Christians* in doctrine and practice, and yet still in such a condition, that though so living and dying, if they lead a good life, and being weak, ignorant, and seduced, seriously repented of all their *sins of ignorance*, they might be saved ; closing fully with the moderate judgment of learned Hooker therein.”

Fuller here alludes to the *Sermon upon Justification*, usually attributed to Hooker, although some have disputed it. It has been objected to it that there is a lack of *method*, and that Hooker’s dispute with Travers savours too much of *personal* and *local* warmth, which is supposed to have sprung up between them owing to their serving the same Church, one preaching in the morning, and the other in the afternoon.

Fuller thus summed up the controversy : “ Hooker maintained the Church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true Church, so that such who live and die therein,

being weak, ignorant and seduced, upon their repentance of all their sins of ignorance, may be saved."

Travers defended : "The Church is no true Church at all, so that such as live and diet herein, holding justification in part by works, cannot be said by the Scriptures to be saved."

To consider in detail this most important subject, one of renewed interest in our day, we may remark, that Hooker in the discourse upon Justification attributed to him, sets out with maintaining that "many are partakers of the *error*, which are not of the *heresy* of the Church of Rome, yet that to all without exception plagues are due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guided, as the guide in blindness." He therefore places a limit to the hope he expresses respecting our forefathers in those dark ages : "Our hope therefore of the fathers is, if they were not altogether faithless and impenitent, that they are saved." He proceeds with the affirmation of its being possible to hold great errors with the foundation ; applying the comparison used by St. Paul in the third chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. "This leads to the question, *what is the foundation?* The foundation is the mystery of Godliness, God manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world." (I. Tim., iii., 16.) It is the Confession of Nathaniel : "Thou art the Son of the living God, Thou art the King of Israel." (John i., 49.) And of the inhabitants of Samaria, "This is Christ the Saviour of the World." (John iv. 42.) But our fathers in the Church of Rome did not directly deny Christ Crucified for the Salvation of the World. If the Romanists denied the

foundation by consequence, so do the Lutherans in their tenet of Consubstantiation who yet have been, according to Hooker, "the chiefest instruments of our Salvation." "So then," he concludes, "forasmuch therefore as it may be said of the Church of Rome, she hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundations of Christianity, may, I trust without offence, persuade myself that thousands of our fathers in former times, living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God."\*

Now comes that to which Fuller alluded, as the moderate judgment of learned Hooker: "What although they repented not of their errors, God forbid that I should open my mouth to gainsay that which Christ hath spoken, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all perish.' And if they did not repent, they perished. But withal, note that we have the benefit of a double repentance. The least sin which we commit in deed, thought, or word, is death without repentance. Yet how many things do escape us in every of these, which we do not know! How many which we do not observe to be sins! And without the knowledge, without the observation of sin, there is no repentance. It cannot then be chosen but that, for as many as hold the foundation, and have all holden sins and errors in hatred, the blessing of repentance for unknown sins and errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jesus Christ, for such suitors as cry with the Prophet David, '*Purge me, O Lord, from my secret sins.*'"† Hooker then discusses the objection that repentance without

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\* Hooker's Works, Vol. iii., p. 503 (Keble's Edition).

† Vol. iii., p. 504.

a rightly informed and clear faith is nothing : “ If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.” “ Christ is become of no effect unto you : whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.” (Gal. v. 4.) In answer he remarks : “ How many were there amongst our fathers, who, being seduced by the common error of that Church, never knew the meaning of her heresies : so that, although Popish heretics did perish, thousands of them which lived in Popish superstition might be saved.”\* In short, he admits that some there were ignorant of the great errors of the Church of Rome respecting justification, and others there were who held only that in a general form of words which would admit of a more favourable interpretation. Thus, when speaking of the *merit* of good works, they might intend to speak, not *strictly*, but according to the ancient use of *meriting* for *obtaining*. Or again, he adds : “ If in the worst construction that may be made, they had generally all embraced it living, might not many of them, dying, utterly renounce it ? ”

We are much tempted to follow “ The Judicious” in this interesting and important subject of “ Justification,” † which he handles in his usual most masterful manner ; but we forbear ; our space forbids, and it lies outside the nature and scope of our subject. But we would strongly urge those of our readers who may not know this Sermon to study it carefully, and we promise them some “ strong meat,” and a wholesome antidote to some of the thin and watered teaching

\* Vol. iii., p. 505.

† See also Author’s Sermon on Justification, “ Voice in the Wilderness,” pp. 16-41 : Pickering, 1876.

of the present day. We would remit them to Keble's edition, vol. iii., serm. ii., pp. 484-549, in which will be found passages not inferior to anything in the writings of the Fathers, to whom he appeals, as well as to the Scriptures. If it is wrong to *remain* in Rome, how much more so to *join* her, as some have done of late, and take all her responsibilities upon their own shoulders. And if Hooker's words were true in his day, how much more in these days of the Vatican decrees, the Syllabus, and Papal Infallibility. "The Church of Rome being so corrupted as she is, and *refusing to be reformed as she doth*, we are to sever ourselves from her : the example of our fathers may not retain us in communion and fellowship with that Church, under hope, we so continuing, might be saved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciful to save thousands of them, though they lived in Popish superstition, inasmuch as *they* sinned ignorantly ; but the truth is now laid open before our eyes." \*

Bishop Davenant, as logical and able a controversial Divine as the Church of England ever produced, places among the fundamental points as well the *Decalogue* as the *Creed*, and in respect of the Decalogue remarks : "Viderit itaque Romana Ecclesia, quæ fundamenta Fidei Christianæ suâ potissimum operâ gloriatur fuisse hactenus conservata, an in fundamentalibus Decalogi non erraverit crasse et damnabiliter : ut de erroribus aliis nihil dicam." †

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\* Hooker, vol. iii. p. 495.

† "Ad fraternalm Communionem inter evangelicas Ecclesias restaurandam adhortatio."—p. 98. Camb. 1640.

## CHAPTER X.

## FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY (4).

"There is a late generation of People, professed enemies to all *humane learning*, the most moderate amongst them accounting it (as used in Divinity) no better than the *barren Fig Tree*. *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?* whilst the most furious resemble it to the *Wilde Gourd* in the *Pottage* of the *children of the Prophets*, deadly and pernicious. Thus as *Wisdom hath built her an house with seven Pillars* (generally expounded the *Liberal Sciences*), *Folly seeketh* (but I hope in vain) to pluck down and destroy it."—(*History of University of Cambridge since the Conquest*. Epistle Dedicatory.)

E must now hasten forward to the time of the English Reformation, and will lay before the Reader our Church Historian's brief and characteristic defence thereof. Fuller's antagonist objected to his brevity in this eventful period of the nation's history, and of the old Historical and National Church, in its withdrawal from the Western Patriarchate. His reply was, that he did not wish to travel over the same ground as others had done; and that what Fox had so elaborately performed, he had touched upon more sparingly. This is what he says: "Three things are essential to justify the English Reformation from the scandal of schism;—to show that they had

- " 1. Just cause for which
- " 2. True authority by which } they seceded from *Rome*.
- " 3. Due moderation in what }

“The first will plainly appear if we consider the abominable errors which, contrary to *Scripture* and *Primitive antiquity*, were then crept into the Church of Rome: as the denying the cup to the laity; worshipping of images; locking up the Scriptures in Latin; and performing prayers in an unknown tongue; with the monstrosity of *transubstantiation*—inexcusable practices; besides the *Behemoth* of the Pope’s infallibility, and the *Leviathan* of his universal jurisdiction, so exclaimed against by Gregory the Great, as a note of Antichrist.

“Just cause of Re-formation being thus proved, proceed we to the authority by which it is to be made. Here we confess the most regular way was by order from a *free and General Council*; but here, alas! no hope thereof. General it could not be, the Greeks not being in a capacity of repairing thither; nor free, such the Papal usurpation. For before men could try the truth, hand to hand, by dint of Scripture (the sword and buckler thereof, by God’s appointment), the Pope took off all his adversaries at distance with (those guns of hellish invention) his infallibility and universal jurisdiction; so that no approaching his presence to oppose him, but with certainty of being pre-condemned.

“Now, seeing the complaint of the conscientious in all ages against the errors of the Romish Church met with no other entertainment than frowns and frets, and afterwards fire and faggot, it came seasonably into the minds of those who steered the English nation to make use of that power which God had bestowed upon them. And seeing they were a *National Church* under the civil command of one King, he, by the advice and consent of his clergy in Convocation, and great council in Parliament, resolved to

reform the Church under his inspection from gross abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other churches either to follow his example, or continue in their former condition : and on these terms was the *English Reformation* advanced.

“ But the Romanists object that *England* being first converted to Christianity by the zeal and care of the *Church of Rome* (when Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine over to preach here) cannot, not only without great ingratitude, but flat undutifulness, depart from the Church which first taught it true religion. It is answered first this argument reacheth not west of Severn into Wales, where the *Ancient Britons*, by general confession, were converted before the time of Augustine. Secondly, this just favour received from Rome, puts *not* on England so strict and servile an *obligation of perpetual continuance*, that she may and must not serve God without asking her leave. It ties England only to a fair and grateful respect, which she always tendered, till the insolency of the Church of Rome made *us* unwilling to pay, and *her* unworthy to receive it. Thirdly, some strength may be allowed to this objection, if Rome could be proved the *same* in *doctrine* and *discipline*, when under the reign of King Henry the Eighth England divided itself from it, with Rome, when in the time of Gregory the Great it was converted by God’s blessing on his endeavours. But since that time the Church hath been much corrupted in opinion and practice : easy to prove, but that is not the set work of our history.

“ But, again, the Papists object that the most judicious Protestants do ingenuously confess that the Church of Rome maintaineth all the *fundamentals* of Religion. England therefore cannot be excused from schism for dividing

from that Church, which, by their own confession, still retaineth the true foundation of Christianity.

“It is answered, if some Protestants be so civil in their censures on Papists, it appears thereby, though they have left Rome, they have not lost their courtesy nor their charity. But grant (*which is disputable*) the errors of the Church of Rome not fundamental, they are *circa-fundamental*, grating on the very foundation. Besides, we are abound to avoid, not only what is deadly, but what is hurtful; not only what may destroy the *life*, but what may prejudice the *health* of our souls.

“But our adversaries persist to object, that our Reformation took its rise from King Henry’s pride to pluck down a power which crushed his designs: from his covetousness to compass the revenues of the Abbeys: and from his wantonness to exchange his old embracings, for new ones. Well, therefore, may the English blush at the *babe* when they behold its *parents*, and be ashamed of their *Reformation*, considering the vicious extraction thereof.”

“Malice may load the memory of King Henry about his demerit: yet, grant the charge true, that bad inclinations first moved him to the Reformation, yet he acted therein nothing but conformable to the law Divine and human. It is usual with God’s wisdom and goodness, to suffer vice to sound the first alarum to that fight, wherein virtue is to have the victory. Besides, King Henry’s reformation hath been since re-formed by successive Princes of England, who cannot justly be taxed with any vicious reflection therein.

3. “It remaineth that we take notice of the moderation of the Reformers, who, being acted not with an opposition to all which the Papists practised, but with an affection to

truth, disclaimed only the ulcers and sores, not what was sound of the Romish Church, retaining still what was consonant to *Antiquity in the four first General Councils*.

“Matters thus ordered, had the Romanists been pleased to join with us, there had been no complaining of *Schism* either in their streets, or ours. But such their pride and peevishness, to persist obstinate, to this day incense many people (who listen more to the loudness, than weigh the justness of complaints), accusing us of wilful separation ; but, the premises well considered, *England* may say to *Rome*, *Pharez* the breach be upon thee, who (with Athaliah, crying *treason, treason*, being herself the prime traitor) taxeth us with schism, when she is the only *Schismatic*.\*\*

Even in our own days persons of education often call the old Historical Church of this country—a Church older than the State itself—an Act of Parliament Church, a creation of the State, a department of the Home Office, and so forth. Let us see how this “causeless cavil” is retorted by Fuller. “Here I wonder at the cavil of the Papists, which being so causeless should be so clamorous, accusing us to have a Parliament religion, a Parliament faith, a Parliament Gospel, and another addeth Parliament bishops, and a Parliament clergy ; whereas, upon serious examination, it will appear, that there was nothing done in the Re-formation of religion, save what was acted by the Clergy in their Convocation, or grounded on some acts of theirs, precedent to it, with the advice, council, and consent of the Bishops and most eminent Churchmen : confirmed upon the post-fact, and not otherwise, by the Civil sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity.

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\* Bk. v., pp. 194-5.

"By the same proportion, in the days of Queen Mary, the *Popish religion* might have been styled 'a Parliament religion,' because after the same had been debated on, and concluded of in the Convocation, it was confirmed by the Queen, Lords and Commons, and by the Act of Parliament."

Much has been written and spoken of the Royal Supremacy\*—since the transference of the appellate jurisdiction of the Crown from the High Court of Delegates in 1832-3 to the Privy Council, or rather the Judicial Committee—which some people would seem to make the article of a standing or falling Church (*lex stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*) and whose churchmanship would appear to be at the mercy of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is supposed to be the concrete *embodiment* of it, because it advises the Queen's Majesty, in the ultimate appeal on all matters of doctrine or ritual. Let us hear what Henry VIII., the highest-handed of the Tudors, says of it himself. "He disclaimed," in his letter to the Convocation of York, which at first denied his supremacy, "all design by fraud to surprise, or by force to captivate their judgments, but only to convince them of the truth and equity of what he desired. He declared the sense of 'Supreme Head of the Church,' though offensive to the sound in ignorant ears, claiming nothing more thereby than what *Christian Princes in the Primitive times assumed to themselves* in their own dominions so that it seems he wrought so far on their affections that

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\*See author's "Court of Final Appeal; or the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases." Chapter on Royal Supremacy, p. 159. (Parker. 1865.)

at last they consented thereunto." The clergy in their Convocation of Canterbury had declared that the King was, under Christ, Supreme Head (toned down by Elizabeth to Supreme Governor), head over all causes and persons, ecclesiastical and civil, in this Church and Realm of England, with this saving clause, "*Quantum per legem Christi licet*," which clause, and Elizabeth's substitution, have much qualified (*it must* be owned) this assertive claim.

In the reign of Edward VI. (1547), by the ordering of the Duke of Somerset, the King's uncle, Royal Commissioners, chosen by the advice of the King's wise and honourable Council, were sent into several counties with instructions to reform, the substance whereof (thirty-six in number) were embodied under the name of *The King's Injunctions*, which are said to have the same legal standing as an Act of Parliament. When they were issued, royal proclamations had the force of an Act of Parliament, or statute law. The first injunction says : (1) "That all ecclesiastical persons observe the laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and confirmation of the King's authority and supremacy." (3) "That images, abused with pilgrimages and offerings thereunto, be forthwith taken down and destroyed ; and that no more wax candles or tapers be burned before any image, but only two *lights* upon the High Altar, before the Sacrament, shall remain still, to signify that Christ (in His two natures) is the very light of the world." (9) "That they examine such as come to *confession* to them in Lent, whether they can recite their Creed, Paternoster, and Ten Commandments in English, before they receive the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's Board."

(21). “That in the time of High Mass \* he that sayeth or singeth a Psalm, shall read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and one chapter in the New Testament, at Matins, and another at Evensong ; and that when nine lessons are to be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted with Responds, and at Evensong the Responds with all the Memories.”

(23). “To avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore have risen amongst the King’s subjects, by challenging of places in procession, no procession hereafter shall be used about the church or churchyard, but immediately before High Mass the Litany be distinctly said or sung in English, none departing the Church without just cause, and all ringing of bells, save one, utterly forborne.”

(24). “That *the Holy Day*, at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the Comminunion, visiting the sick, &c.”

(36). “That when any sermon or Homily shall be had, the Prime and Hours shall be omitted.”

We have selected these injunctions at random, which may prove interesting to some of our readers, as they have

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\* In King Edward the 6th’s Book of Common Prayer, 1549, the title of the Liturgy is “The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.” The High Mass means the *late* celebration, surrounded with higher ritualistic and musical accessories, as in contradistinction to the low celebration, which is usually early in the morning, and plain.

provoked a good deal of discussion in our days, but without, of course, presuming to say what their legal force may be.

Speaking of the poor, in answer to those who would “rather that the innocent poor suffer wrongfully, than the undeserving poor escape due correction,” our Author says in his *History of Abbies*: “Better it is two drones should be fed, than one bee famished. We see the heavens themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water making stinking bogs and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them (yea, they are the worse for it) only because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them: so that either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.”

Professor Blunt, in his sketch of the Reformation, notices the unfavourable complexion our Author’s antagonist gives to King Edward’s reign in general, and the “unfair, though self-contradictory terms in which he speaks of his individual character.” He observes, “Indeed so strangely is he at variance with himself on this subject, that he might almost be thought to have written for one set of readers, and revised for another.\*

This is the conclusion of our Author’s account of the dissension of the exiles in the reign of Queen Mary: “Only let me add that this whole story of their discords, with the causes and circumstances thereof, is taken out of the *Troubles of Frankfort*, a book composed in favour of the opposers of the *English discipline*; and when the writer is all for the *plaintiff*, the discreet reader will not only be an

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\* “Blunt’s Reformation,” 244-5.

*impartial judge*, but also somewhat of an *advocate* for the defendant.” \*

We saw in the last injunction of King Edward, reference is made to Homilies. Some were put out in that reign for the benefit of inexperienced preachers, and others in that of Queen Elizabeth. The 35th of the Homilies refers to the two books of Homilies “to be read in Churches by the minister diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.” “See we hear the Homilies,” says Fuller, “ranked into two forms. The first, such as were made in the reign of Edward VI., being twelve in number. The second form of Homilies are those composed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amounting to one and twenty, concluding with one against rebellion.”

Heylin, either from carelessness or malevolence, had charged upon our historian this indirect animadversion upon the Homilies, that “if they did little good, they did little harm.” These words were written, not of the Homilies, but the unlearned preachers already referred to, for whose benefit they were composed. Here is the passage : “They are penned in a plain style, accommodated to the capacities of the hearers (being loth to say of the readers), the ministers also being very simple in that age. Yet if they did little good, in this respect they did no harm, that they preached not strange doctrines to their people, as too many vent *new darknesses* in our days. For they had no power to broach *opinions*, who were only employed to deliver that *liquour* to them which they had received from the hands of others better skilled in religion than themselves.”

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\* “Book viii., p. 35.

“Well had it been for the peace and happiness of the Church,” adds Fuller, “if the *Animadverter* (and all of his party) had had as high an esteem as the *Author* hath, for the *Homilies*: if none of them had called them *homely Homilies* (as one did), and if they had conformed their practice to the second Homily of the second book, and not appeared so forward in countenancing images of God and His saints in churches.”\* Fuller spoke to the same effect in the book under consideration, so that he must have written from feelings of ill-will, with the desire of detraction, and not doing justice to the truth, when he thus places his own faults to Fuller’s account. “Some,” says our Author, in his “Church History,” “behold these Homilies as not sufficiently legitimated by this article (xxxv.), to be (for their doctrine) the undoubted issue of the Church of England, alleging them composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed at the best, but the chaplains of the Archbishops under whom they were made. Hence it is that some have termed them *homely Homilies*, others a *popular discourse* on a doctrine useful for these times wherein they were set forth. I confess what is necessary in one age may be less needful in another, but what in one age is *godly* and *wholesome doctrine* (characters of commendation given by the aforesaid *Article* to the Homilies) cannot in another age be ungodly and unhealthful; as if our faith did follow fashions, and truth alter with the times, like Achitophel, his counsel, though good in itself, yet not at some seasons. (II Sam. xvii.) But some are concerned to decry their credits as much contrary

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\* “Appeal,” Pt. ii., p. 81.

to their judgment, more to their practice, especially seeing the second homily in the second book stands with a sponge in one hand to wipe out the pictures, and a hammer in the other, to beat down all images of God and saints erected in churches. And, therefore, such use these homilies as an upper garment, girding them close unto, or casting them from them at pleasure, allowing and alleging them when consenting, denying, and disclaiming them when opposite to their practice or opinions."

Fuller, though such a "stout Church and King man," has been accused of leaning to the Puritans and Puritanism, of whom, and whose work he was, no doubt, a fair and candid historian. But however he may have liked some of their *persons*, he heartily detested their principles, having no learning whatever, as he tells us either to Presbyterianism, or still less to Independency. How could he, being such a doughty champion as he was of the old Historical and National Church of this country, whose historian he "endeavoured" to be? It has been said that he passed over the merits of the Conformists, or adherents of the old National Church, and to have taken a pleasure in holding up to view the piety of the Puritans. We will then place before our readers two or three cabinet portraits of some of the leading conforming bishops and clergy, and let them judge for themselves.

It is in allusion to the Nonconformists he writes, "The death of *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of Canterbury, added much to their increase. He was a *Parker* indeed, careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of *discipline* against all such night stealers as would invade the same. No wonder, then, if the tongues and pens of many were whetted

against him, *whose* complaints are beheld by discreet men like the exclamation of truant scholars against their master's severity, correcting them for their faults. This Archbishop was an excellent antiquary (without any antickness) a great benefactor to Benet College, in Cambridge, on which he bestowed many manuscripts, so that that library (for a private one) was the *sun* of English Antiquity in those days, though now no more than the moon, since that of Sir Robert Cotton's is risen up.”\* He then goes on to answer “a large author, though not daring to deny due praise to his memory,” Mr. Prynne’s detractions from the Prelate’s memory, in his book “On the Treason of Prelates.”

In connection with Parker’s name, I must own that I have searched in vain, in Fuller’s pages, for the celebrated Elizabethan Advertisements which were issued by the order of this Archbishop, except in one place incidentally alluded to. They are given no where that I can find in the *Church History*, in extenso. “These advertisements,” says Mr. Proctor,† “were compiled by Archbishop Parker and other Bishops, acting as Ecclesiastical Commissioners by the Queen’s command, but not with the full occurrence of her Council. They were not signed by the Queen, nor issued under her broad seal, and they were only enforced by the Bishops on their own canonical authority.” Cardwell ‡ also says of them, “The Queen did not give her official sanction to them at the time. They were not even

\* Bk. ix., p 108.

† “Proctor’s History of B.C.P.”

‡ Documentary Annals.

Ordinances, certainly not Injunctions, which, as we have seen in Edward the Sixth's reign, possess the highest imperial authority." These Advertisements were Parkerian, not Elizabethan, and are referred to by the 23rd in the Canons of 1603, as having been published Anno 7th Elizabeth, *juxta admonitiones in septem Elizabethæ promulgatas*. Yet if they have such authority, that we cannot understand the settlement of 1662 at the Restoration, the act of Uniformity, without their aid, as we have been told lately, nor explain a plain simple grammatical Rubric without reading these Advertisements into them, and between the lines, how strange it seems, nor have we heard a reason suggested for the absence, that our painful and indefatigable Author,\* who did not mind how many digressions he made into all kinds of subjects, cognate or otherwise, who travelled all over the country, ransacked every corner of the kingdom, in compiling materials for a *Church History*, at the very time these important regulations should have been in full force, when their practical application was required to light up a rubrical direction (if they had not become obsolete), and close to the period when promulgated for the guidance of the clergy, should take no notice of them and pass them over in silence as of no account! Before leaving Parker, let us note what Fuller says of his consecration, and the story of the Nag's Head.† "Yet notwithstanding all circum-

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\* See Author's letter on the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth: Exeter, 1877.

† For a fuller discussion on the Nag's Head story and validity of English orders, see the Author's book on "Our Established Church, its History, Philosophy, Advantages, and Claims," Chapter on "The Anglican Ordinal." (Pickering 1879.)

stances so solemnly performed, some impudent papists have raised a lie that Matthew Parker was consecrated *ad caput manni*, ‘at the Nag’s Head, a tavern in Cheapside.’ Indeed, they show a place therein, just against the bar, so anciently arched, that an active fancy (which can make anything of anything) may create to itself a top or tester of a pulpit thereof, though the like thereunto may be seen elsewhere in the city. But that this lie of the Nag’s Head was bred in a knave’s brains doth plainly appear. For why should a rich man be a thief? Seeing all churches in England were equally open unto them to pick and choose at pleasure, why should they steal a clandestine consecration in a place so justly obnoxious to censure? Were not the Canaanites and Perizzites then in the land? Were not many prying Papists then mingled amongst Protestants? which consideration alone would command them to be cautious in their proceedings. . . . But when one Jesuit had got this shameless lie of the Nag’s Head (I cannot say by the tale, but) by the ears, instantly Champney, Fitz-Simon, Perrone, Killison, Constable, and all the whole kennel of them, bawl it out in their books to all posterity.”

Of the other conforming Clergy and Prelates Fuller speaks in the following language:—Grindal is justly called by him “a prelate most primitive in all his conversation.\* He was indeed no courtier, and was a prelate of the primitive age, fearless of the most imperious of princes.” He does not hesitate to characterise Whitgift as “one of the worthiest men that ever the English Hierarchy did enjoy.”† He also

\* Book ix., p. 108.

† Book x., p. 25.

vindicates this Prelate, and in a very copious manner, from Prynne's aspersions. Nor does he withhold from Bancroft his due, when he relates how, notwithstanding his severity towards the Nonconformists, he thus fraternally healed the wounds of his own sword. "An honest and able minister privately protested unto him that it was *against his conscience to conform*, being then ready to be deprived. 'Which way,' saith the Archbishop, '*will you live if put out of your benefice?*' The other answered, *He had no way but to go a begging, and to put himself on Divine Providence.* 'Not that,' saith the Archbishop, '*You shall not need to do, but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.*' "What impression this made on the minister's judgement," adds Fuller, "I am not able to report."

Of Archbishop Sandys (no favourer of Puritanism) he thus writes:—"An excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age, so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in Heaven."\* And he gives this testimony of Bishop Bilson:—"A deep and profound scholar, excellently well read in the Fathers, principally shewed in his *Defence of Christ, his Descent into Hell.*"† Fuller confesses that he did not decline commanding some of the more eminent Nonconformists, men remarkable for piety. "All (though dissenting from the Church in ceremonies) eminent in their generations. I commend them not for their Nonconformity, but other qualities of piety, painfulness, learning, and patience."‡

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\* Book ix., p. 197.

† Book x., p. 71.

‡ "Appeal," part i., p. 46.

Heylin also charged Fuller with vindicating Martin-Marpreate, and other libellous writings of the more violent Puritans, in these words : “ Our author proceeds, fol. 193 : ‘ Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein, cannot better vent it than in lashing sin.’ This is spoken in defence of those scurrilous libels which Job Throgmorton, Penny, Fenner, and the rest of the Puritan rable, published in print against the Bishops, anno 1588, thereby to render them ridiculous at home and abroad.”

The whole passage in Fuller is as follows : “ Some precise men of that side thought these jeering pens well employed. For having formerly, as they say, tried all serious and sober means to reclaim the Bishops, which hitherto proved ineffectual, they thought it not amiss to try this new way, that whom they could not in earnest make odious, in sport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin. Besides, they wanted not a warrant (as they conceived) in Holy Writ : where it was no solæcism to the gravity of Elijah to mock Baal’s priests out of their superstition ; chiefly, this was conceived would drive on their design, strengthen their party by working on the people’s affections, which were marvellously taken with the reading thereof.

“ But the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe), that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse ; which, supposed true both in matter and

measure, charity would rather conceal than discover. The best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces, than long to throw dirt on others. Any man may be busy in a biting way, and those that have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose.”\*

Heylin, also, in a most shameless and disgraceful manner, charged our Author with being an extremist in regard to the Sabbath observance. Heylin, indeed, was a strong anti-Sabbatarian, reckoning (in his “Life of Laud”) the strict observance of the Lord’s Day as one of the leading causes of the distractions of the reign of Charles.

This is what Fuller says of Pope Pius IV., who, newly settled in the Papal chair, thought to do something no less honourable than profitable to his See in his attempt to reconcile Queen Elizabeth to the Holy See, and his offer to give authority to the *English Liturgy*, and permit communion under *both* kinds (which the Romanists actually followed for *ten* years after the separation from Rome), if she would return to the true fold : “What private proposals Parpalia” (who brought the Pope’s letter) “made to her Majesty, on condition she would be reconciled to Rome, is unknown. Some conceive the Pope might promise more than he meant to perform; but would he perform more than he did promise, nothing herein had been effected. A bargain can never be driven, where a buyer can on no terms be procured. Her Majesty was resolute and unmovable in her religion. And yet some (not more knowing in councils, but more daring in conjectures than others),

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\* Book ix., p. 190.

who love to feign what they cannot find, that they may never be at a loss, avouch, that the Pope promised to revoke the sentence against her mother Anne Boleyn's marriage, to *confirm our English Liturgy with his authority*, to permit the English communion *under both kinds*, provided she would own the Pope's primacy, and cordially unite herself to the Catholic Church. Yea, some thousands of crowns (but all in vain) were promised to the effectors thereof, wherein his Holiness, seemingly liberal, was really thrifty, as knowing, such his terms, if accepted, would within one year return with a hundred-fold increase."

Some of our readers may be interested in Fuller's summing up of the three days' Conference at *Hampton Court* in 1604, under the presidency of King James I., and the product thereof. It was held in a withdrawing room, within the privy chamber, at the Palace. "Thus ended the three days' Conference: wherein how discreetly the King carried himself, posterity, out of the reach of flattery, is the most competent judge—such matters being most truly discerned at distance. It is generally said that herein he went *above* himself; that the Bishop of London (Bancroft) appeared *even with* himself; and Dr. Reynolds (Nonconformist) fell much *beneath* himself. Others observed that Archbishop Whitgift spake most gravely (he addressed himself to the King on his knee); Bancroft, when out of passion, most politickly; Bilson (Bishop of Winchester), most learnedly; and of the divines (Nonconformists), Mr. Reynolds, most largely; Knewstubs, most affectionately; Chaderton, most sparingly. In this scene, only Dr. Sparks was *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, making use of his hearing, not speech; converted, it seems, to the truth of

what was spoken, and soon after setting forth a treatise of unity and uniformity.

“ But the Nonconformists complained that the King sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded, not that he might know what they could *say*, but they what he would *do* in the matter. Besides no wonder if Dr. Reynolds a little lost himself, whose eyes were partly dazzled with the light of the King’s Majesty, partly daunted with the heat of his displeasure. Others complain that this Conference is partially set forth only by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantages of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies’ weapons.

“ This Conference produced some alterations in the Liturgy : women’s baptising of infants, formerly frequent, hereafter forbidden ; in the Rubric of absolution ‘ remission of sins ’ inserted ; Confirmation termed also an examination of children ; and some words altered in the Dominical Gospels, with a resolution for a new translation of the Bible. But whereas it was disputable whether the north, where he long lived, or the south, whither he lately came, should prevail most on the King’s judgment in Church government : this doubt was now clearly decided. Henceforward many cripples in Conformity were cured of their former halting therein : and such who knew not their own till they knew the King’s mind in this matter, for the future quickly digested the ceremonies of the Church.”

Many persons have been much exercised by the new Revised version of the New Testament, which it has been

proposed to authorise. This is what Fuller says of the “new translation of the Bible, finished by the command of King James and care of some chosen Divines, 1611, A.D.” “And now, after long expectation and great desire, came forth the new translation of the Bible (most beautifully printed) by a select and competent number of divines, appointed for that purpose: not being too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest, in any, things might haply escape them: who neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness (seeing in a business of moment, none deserve blame for convenient slowness) had expended almost three years in the work, not only examining the channels by the fountain, translations with the originals, which was absolutely necessary; but also comparing channels with channels, which was abundantly useful, in the Spanish, Italian, French, and Dutch languages. So that their industry, skilfulness, piety, and discretion have herein bound the Church unto them in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness. These, with Jacob, ‘rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well’ of life, Gen. xxix. 10, so that now even Rachels, weak women, may freely come, both to drink themselves, and water the flocks of their families at the same time.”

This translation applies to the Bible only, not the Psalms in our Prayer Book. “The Psalms we use,” says Wheatley, “in our daily services are not taken out of the two last translations of the Bible, but out of the great English Bible translated by William Tyndal and Miles Coverdale, and revised by Archbishop Cranmer, for when the Common Prayer was compiled in 1548 neither of the two last translations were extant.”\*

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“Wheatley on the Common Prayer.” p. 133.

Turn we now to one last specimen, our Author's portrait of good Bishop Andrewes. "Since his death some have unjustly snarled at his memory, accusing him of covetousness, who was neither *rapax* to get by unjust courses, as a professed enemy to usury, simony, and bribery; nor *tenax* to hold money when just occasion called for it: for in his life time he repaired all places he lived in, and at his death left the main of his estate to pious uses. Indeed he was wont to say that good husbandry was good divinity, the truth whereof no wise man will deny. Another falls foully upon him for the ornaments of his chapel as Popish and superstitious in the superabundant ceremonies thereof. To which I can say little; but this I dare affirm, that where-soever he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocese with pressing other ceremonies upon them than such, which he found used there before his coming thither. And it had not been amiss if such who would be accounted his friends and admirers had followed him in the footsteps of his moderation, content with the enjoying, without the enjoining, their private practices and opinions on others."\*

"As for such who causelessly have charged his sermons as affected and intercharged with verbal allusions,† when they themselves have set forth the like, it will then be time enough to make this Bishop's first defence against their calumnias. Nor is it a wonder if the master's pen was so in his writings, whose very servant (a layman) was so successful in the same; I mean Mr. Henry Isaacson (lately

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\* In "Appeal of Injured Innocence," pp. 561-562, 578, 590.

† Mr. Bayley in his *Ladensium Autocatacriton*.

gone to God) the industrious author of the useful ‘Chronology.’”\*

Our Author then goes on to say, “It is a pity to part this patron from his chaplain, Nicholas Fuller, born, as I take it, in Hampshire.” Bishop Andrewes gave him a valuable living, and he was Canon of Salisbury ; and our Author concludes, “He was the prince of all our English critics, and whereas men of that tribe are generally morose, so that they cannot dissent from another without disdaining, nor oppose without inveighing against him, it is hard to say whether more candour, learning, or judgment was blended in his ‘Miscellanies.’ By discovering how much Hebrew there is in the New Testament Greek, he cleareth many real difficulties from his verbal observations.”

In March, 1640 certain divines (the Bishop of Lincoln being in the chair) were appointed to prepare an account of such ecclesiastical and other topics relating to the Church, as might be subjected to regulation, with a view to the peace and good order of the Church. “First,” says our Author, “they took the innovations of doctrine into consideration, and here some complained that all the tenets of the Council of Trent had (by one or other) been preached and printed, abating only such points of State-Popery against the King’s supremacy made treason by the Statute. Good works made co-causes with faith, by justification, private confession by particular enumeration of sins, needful *necessitate medii* (*i.e.*, as means indispensable) to salvation ; that the oblation (or as others, the consumption) of the elements of the Lord’s

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\* We have already given quotations from this author’s “Life of Andrewes” in the “Abel Redevivus”

Supper holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice ; prayers for the dead ; lawfulness of monastic vows ; the gross substance of Arminianism, and some dangerous points of Socinianism. Secondly, they enquired into præter canonical conformity and innovations in discipline ; advancing candlesticks in parochial churches in the day time on the altar so called ; making canopies over with traverses of curtains (in imitation of the veil before the Holy of Holies) on each side, and before it, having a credentia, or side table, as a chapel of ease to the mother altar for diverse uses in the Lord's Supper ; forbidding a direct prayer before the sermon : and ministers to expound the Catechism at large to their parishioners : carrying children (when baptized) to the altar so called, and there offering them up to God, pretending for some of the innovations *the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force,* and appertaining to the printed Liturgy in the *second and third of Edward VI.*, which is reformed by Parliament." (Written 1655.)

Here, then, we have a contemporary Church historian, the most painstaking, careful and indefatigable of that age, predicing categorically of these now famous Parkerian Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth (1554) that *they were not then* (1640) *in force*. How then has it been made possible to read them into the celebrated rubric of 1662, which has been done in our time ? If they were legally dead *then*, how could they be living potentialities so many years afterwards ?

These conferences came to nothing, for there was a party already sufficiently powerful to destroy the episcopal regimen and put down liturgical worship of every kind and degree, a party that had no thought of reformation, but cared only for revolution pure and simple, which inaugurated a radical

change in the very essence of the Church, and made a clean sweep, root and branch, of every thing that was ancient and primitive.

Fuller was of opinion that the hot disputes about the position of the altar-table (the *ἀγύα τράπεζα*) were not agreeable to the spirit of Christianity. Did the Apostles force an uniformity in ceremonials upon all the churches? Was there not a variety of uses in the primitive Church? Would it not have been wiser, more peaceable, and more Christian-like in the English Augustine to have suffered the British, without disputing their customs of keeping Easter? And if so, why should an exact uniformity in externals be deemed essential to Christian order and union? Thus Fuller, touching on the excited arguments respecting the placing of the Holy Table, had remarked in his *Church History*, “If moderate men had had the managing of these matters about the posture of the Lord’s Board (call it table or altar) the accommodation had been easy with a little condescension on both sides.” In his *Appeal* he adds, “I said it, and say it again, and any who have honesty and learning (the Animadvertor only excepted) will say so too, that the differences were easily capable of accommodation with a little condescension on both sides. It will not be long before the Animadvertor will tell us that the controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome (consisting most, as he saith, in *superstructures*) may be compromised; and if (to use his own words) *the petulance of the Puritans on the one side, and the pragmatricalness of the Jesuits on the other side, were charmed awhile, moderate men might possibly have agreed upon equal terms.*”

“Now this seemeth a strange thing to us that moderation

may make Protestants agree with Papists *in matters doctrinal*, and cannot make Protestants agree with Protestants *in matters ceremonial*. Being the same plaister, why hath it not equal virtue, especially the latter being the lesser wound? Can the difference of Transubstantiation be taken up betwixt us and the Papists, and not the setting of the Communion-table betwixt ourselves? Can a crack be closed in a jewel and a rent not be mended in a can? These things, I confess, transcend my apprehension.”\*

The controversy respecting the position of the *Holy Table* is now finally settled, for that is now fixed against the east wall of the chancel. The controversy in our day has raged chiefly round the vestments to be worn by the *celebrant* or officiant minister. Would that those wise and moderate counsels, which our Author recommended in the settlement of the one case, had been followed in the “accommodation” of the other, and that these had produced peace in our Zion and unity in our Jerusalem.

Many more selections might have been added, both referring to points of religious controversy, and to other topics in connection with the *Church History*, but to notice all that might be commented upon in so wide a field, would distract by unavoidable diffusiveness, and perhaps would not be equally acceptable to all classes of readers, even of a clerical turn of mind.

To his *Church History* there were appended, as we have before remarked, by Fuller, the History of his own University (Cambridge), and that of his own parish (Waltham). It is not unusual also to find bound up with

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\*“Appeal,” part iii., pp. 17-18.

these, in the folio edition, making a very complete and handsome volume, the *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, which we shall come to notice more particularly presently. All these works were put out by the liberality of Dr. Fuller's numerous friends and acquaintances, amongst whom was Douse Fuller, Esq., of Hampshire, probably a kinsman of our Author.

The sixth section (sixth century) is dedicated to him in these words : “I cannot say certainly of you, as Naomi did of Boaz, ‘He is near of kin unto us’ (Ruth iii. 20), having no assurance, but great probability, of alliance unto you. However, Sir, if you shall be pleased in courtesy to account me your kinsman I will endeavour that (as it will be an honour to me) it may be to you no disgrace.”

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## CHAPTER XI.

FULLER'S MINOR WORKS (1)—1655-8.

"Now this *book* is my eldest offspring, which had it been a son (I mean had it been a work of masculine beauty and bigness), it should have waited as a *page* in dedication to his *honour*. But finding it to be of the weaker sex, little in strength and low in stature, may it be admitted (*madam*) to attend on your *Ladyship*, his *Honour's* sister."—(*Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*. Dedicatory Epistle to the Right Honourable and Virtuous Lady Frances Manners, Countess of Rutland.)

OMEWHERE about the year 1655 Fuller was appointed to another City Lectureship, that of St. Bride's. His anonymous biographer says, speaking of St. Clement's Lectureship: "Shortly after from thence he was removed to St. Bride's in Fleet Street, in the same quality of Lecturer, the day being changed to Thursday, where he preached with the same efficacy and success" ("Life," p. 41). As this church was one of the eighty-nine churches which were destroyed by the Great Fire its official documents all perished, so there is no record anent our Divine to be found. St. Bride's was afterwards rebuilt on the same spot by Sir Christopher Wren. Its sequestered parish priest was Thomas Palmer, B.D., "a pious man and painful preacher"; a benefactor to the clergy and their families. Fuller makes mention in one of his sermons of the wealth of many of the residents in this

parish, and the necessity of the clergy to keep a watch over the door of their lips. “I know a factious parish, wherein, if the minister in his pulpit had but named the word *Kingdom*, the people would have been ready to have petitioned against him for a malignant. But as for *Realm*—the same in French—he might safely use it in his sermons as oft as he pleased. Ignorance, which generally inflameth, sometimes, by good hap, abateth men’s malice. The best is, that one now (1660) may without danger use either word, seeing England was a kingdom a thousand years ago, and may be one (if the world lasts so long) a thousand years hereafter.” This is the way Fuller answers the question, “Can good come from ignorance?” in his “Mixt Contemplations” on these times (xlix.).

From what we have already observed of these City lectureships, there is every antecedent probability that Fuller would hold the same related attitude with regard to the parishioners of St. Bride’s as he did with those of St. Clement’s, East Cheap. In his new lectureship he preached at this time a sermon “occasioned by a motion of bringing in of the Jews into England.” This sermon was unpublished, but a fragment of it is preserved by Fuller’s friend and admirer, John Spencer, of Sion College, who gives it the title of “Ignorance and Wilfulness Well Met.” This John Spencer was a most diligent collector of interesting and edifying matters, chiefly bearing on the spiritual life, and culled from all quarters. Being the librarian of Sion College, of course he had ample means of making this collection. He calls his work “*Καινα καὶ πάλαια*: Things New and Old; or, a Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, Allegories, Apophthegms, Adages, Apologues; Divine, Moral,

Political, &c., with their several Applications : Collected and observed from the Writings and Sayings of the Learned in all ages to this present. By John Spencer, a lover of learning and learned men. With a preface by the Rev. Thomas Fuller, D.D." This preface, which is dated "From my chamber in Sion College, London, Jan. 10th, 1657," gracefully but powerfully introduces this marvellous collection of good sayings (they amounted to 2,286 in all, laying ancient and modern literature under contribution) to the public. "Exceptions," says he, "are easier prevented than removed : a dim eye may see such as this book may encounter, reducible to two heads, as made either against the author, or matter thereof. Against the author, as if it were presumption in him, no scholar by profession, to adventure on such a design : it is answered : First, I know no such monopoly for scholars to engross book-making to themselves. Secondly, He hath from his childhood conversed with books and bookmen ; and always being where the frankincense of the Temple was offered, there must be some perfume remaining about him. Lastly, What he lacks in learning, he hath supplied in industry. Indeed, filling stones, which require more pains for portage than art for polishing, are in their kind (though not so graceful) as useful as squared stones, and as much benefit may redound from the reading of this book, as from those of more elaborate composition.

"Against the matter of the book it may be objected, that it is taken out of other men's books and sermons : but was it not, I pray, true of the axe of the sons of the prophets, 2 Kings, vi. 5, 'Alas ! it was borrowed' ? Is the spider's poison better for being sucked out of herself,

or bees' honey the worse for being extracted from flowers? Some men's books indeed are mere kites' nests, a collection of stolen things; such are pure plagiaries, *without any grateful acknowledgment*: but herein the ingenuity of our Author is commendable, that he hath entered the names of such, at whose torch he hath lighted his taper: and I am confident, that by such quotations he hath revived the memories of many worthies, and of their speeches, which otherwise had been utterly lost.

"The title acquaints us with the nature of the Book, *Things New and Old*. Only to propound Things New and New, doth please rather than profit, and more tickle the itch of the ear than satisfy the appetite of the soul; on the other side, to present us with Things Old and Old, doth show a lazy writer, and will make a weary reader: such books are like an imperfect map of the world, wherein all America is wanting. This Author hath endeavoured to compound both together, and I hope with good success. And like as changeable taffeta, having the woof and warp of different colour, seemeth sundry stuffs to several standers by: so will this book appear, with wrinkles and grey-headed to the lovers of antiquity, smooth and with down to such, to whom novelty is most delightful: he doth desire and hope, that his book shall find that candour of course, and courtesy general (which Custom hath almost made a due), to forgive all venial (though false divinity, true morality) mistakes. But the reader will catch cold, by keeping him too long in the Porch of this Preface, who now (the door being opened) may enter into the house itself, with the best wishes of Thy servant in Christ Jesus, Tho. Fuller. From my chamber in Sion College, London, Jan. 10th, 1657."

Fuller also wrote his Preface to his "Church History" "from my chamber in Sion College," with which admirable institution he seems to have been intimately connected during the last ten years of his literary life. This was Fuller's favourite rendezvous, and had been for many years previously. It was equally convenient both for his City lectureships, and correcting his proof-sheets for the press, and hither he used often to come up from Waltham. It was here he dated his "timely happy, timely wise" "Mixt Contemplations in Better Times" (1660), and it is probable he kept this chamber till his death.

There were several Presidents of the College in Fuller's time, but about this period they were Cranford (1653), Clarke (1656), Offspring (1658), and Reynolds (1659), but one librarian, "the trusty and aboriginal librarian," John Spencer, who conscientiously performed his official duties, and was an honest and unpretending man. The two men had attractions one for the other. Spencer admired Fuller as "an excellent preacher" and Fuller, who liked men of a literary or bookish turn of mind, naturally was drawn to the librarian. Spencer was appointed librarian by the Rev. John Simpson, founder of the Library, in 1631. There is extant a petition from him to Archbishop Laud, praying that his case might be adjudicated upon, as he had been suspended by a new President and Governors. This was at the instance of Dr. W. Fuller, of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and Mr. Holdsworth, the Dean (1633), the Bishop of London (Juxon) being a consenting party. It was based upon some charge touching the disposal of property belonging to one of the residents of the College, and the fact that he was continued in office, proves that it was devoid of foundation.

Spencer remained librarian of Sion College till 1680, and compiled the first printed catalogue of the Library, which was printed at his own expense. In this collection at that time there appears to have been two works of Fuller's which were placed side by side, the *Holy Warre* (1640), and the *Holy State* (1642). In the writer's two folio copies, these are bound up (one copy handsomely) in one single volume. In the Bodleian copy of these catalogues there are MS. notes, and written under the foregoing are two more of Fuller's works, *Pisgah* (1650) and the *Church History* (1655), and it is said that the former was presented by the Author himself "minister of Waltham, in Essex, 1654," but this copy probably perished in the Great Fire. To this library Fuller's son John, then of Sydney Sussex College, in Cambridge, 1661, presented a copy of the *Worthies* and *S. Clementis Epistola gr. per P. Junium.*

This is the extract by John Spencer (p. 645): "From a sermon preached by Fuller at S. Bride's London, 1655, occasioned by a motion of bringing in of the Jews into England--and is one of several extracts from his unpublished sermons.

" It is a maritime observation, that if a thick fog darkens the air, there is then (the great God of Heaven and earth having in His Providence so ordered it) no storm, no tempestuous weather, and if it be so that a storm arise then the sky is somewhat clear and lightsome. For where is otherwise, no ship at sea, nor boat in any navigable river could ride or sail in safety, but would clash and fall foul one upon another. Such is the sad condition of every soul amongst us, wherein *ignorance* and *wilfulness* have set up their rest together. And why ! because that if a man were

ignorant only, and not wilful, then the breath of wholesome precepts and good counsel might in time expel those thick mists of darkness that cloud his understanding ; and were he *wilful* and not ignorant, then it were to be hoped that God, in His good time, would *rectify his mind*, and bring him to the knowledge of himself. But when the storm and the fog meet ; when wilfulness and ignorance (as at this day amongst the Jews, and too, too many Christians) do *close together*, nothing without the greater mercies of God can befall that poor shipwrecked soul, but ruin and destruction.”

The Jews—once more subjected to cruel barbarities in Russia, rivalling even the atrocities of Batak and Bulgaria—have been in all ages “exiled, peeled, scattered” in all lands, amid all peoples, yet preserving their own individual nationality, as a monument of God’s justice, fulfilling prophecies, and becoming a standing miracle. They had, however, been banished from England since 1290, and even in Fuller’s days were not allowed to enter Spain and France. Some were to be found in Holland, but more in the Ottoman Empire. Attempts were often made by the Jews to engage in trade with England, and in 1649 a request was preferred to Fairfax and the Council of Officers, by certain residents at Amsterdam, in furtherance of that end. “These persons, of the name of Cartwright, averred, that being conversant in that city with and among some of Izrael’s race called Jewes, both we and they find that the time of her call draweth nigh—and that this nation of England, with the inhabitants of the Netherlands shall be the first and readiest to transport Izrael’s sons and daughters in their ships to the land promised to their forefathers.” This petition was favourably received at Whitehall. Some years afterwards a

learned Jew, Manasseh Ben Israel, came over to endeavour to obtain civil equality for his race in this country. The Rabbi made a most strenuous petition to the Protector, and couched it in the most flattering terms.

Thus it ran : “For God’s sake that ye would, according to that Piety and Power wherein ye are eminent beyond others, vouchsafe to grant that the great and glorious name of the Lord our God may be extolled, and solemnly worshipped and praised by us throughout all the bounds of this Common-wealth, and to grant us place in your country that we may have our Synagogues, and free exercise of our religion. Our people did, in their own minds, presage that the Kingly Government being now changed into that of a Common-wealth the ancient hatred towards them would also be changed into good will : that those rigorous laws (if any there be yet extant made under the Kings) against so innocent a people would happily be repealed.”

The Rabbi likewise addressed the Commonwealth. In answer to this, several Conferences were held, composed of lawyers and divines, the first at Whitehall, under the presidency of the Protector. But as there was so much difference of opinion, he characteristically dissolved the meeting, and allowed the Jews to resettle in England, and they have remained in the country ever since.

We have already seen in the *Pisgah* what Fuller’s views were with regard to the Jews, and the various obstacles in the way of their conversion—such as the cruel usage to which they had been subjected in countries where tolerated ; their offence at image worship; the discord among professing Christians ; and their own hardness of heart and blindness. Would that we could remember Fuller’s words, both in our

attempts to propagate the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to convert the “Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics,” to the faith in Christ. “In vain do we hollo to the Jews to come over to us, whilst our voices are hoarse in *railing one at another*, and beckon with our hands to them to be on our side, whilst our hands are imbruued in the blood of those of our religion” referring to the civil wars. Fuller’s account of the Jews may be read with much profit in his “Church History” (Book iii., Cent. xiii.), which is ranged under the following heads :—32, 48. A transition to the entire story of our English Jews, A.D. 1290 ; their principal residence in London : the justiciary of the Jews : the high priest or presbyter of the Jews : Jews griping usurers : their rapaciousness and tenaciousness : Jews might purchase Houses : lay excommunication, what it was : Jews unfortunate at Feasts and Frays. A sad Jewish jubilee : London Wall built with Jewish stones : Henry III. cruel to the Jews : the wonder of the Jews speedy recruiting their estates : crowds of counterfeit Converts ; misdemeanors charged on the Jews : Jews, say others, not cast out, but craved leave to depart : the King gets incredible wealth forfeited by his Jews 1294. The following extract would not be amiss to describe the recent outrages on Jews in southern Russia, and in Warsaw itself last Christmas Day : “Endless it were to reckon up the indignities offered unto these Jews, on occasions sometimes given, but oftener taken. Apprentices now-a-days do not throw sticks at cocks on Shrove Tuesday, so commonly as then on that day they used clubs on the Jews, if appearing out of their houses, a people equally unhappy at feasts and at frays. For, whensoever the Christians at any revels made great entertainments, the Jews were made to pay the

reckoning. And wheresoever any brawl began in London, it ended always in the Old Jewry, with *pillaging* of *the people* therein. What good heart can, without grief, recount the injuries offered to those who once were the only people of God? These were they, who preferred Barabbas before Christ their Saviour, which Barabbas ‘was a robber,’ a raiser of insurrection, and a murderer. And ever since that time, in all insurrections against them, when they desired and sought safety and deliverance, it hath been their constant portion to be robbed and murdered.” Fuller thus describes a sad Jewish Jubilee (the coronation of Richard) : “ Not only was there much killing and more robbing of Jews in London, but within a few days five hundred Jews, besieged in a tower at York, first beheaded their own wives and children, and then burnt themselves, to escape more cruel torments.”

Fuller dedicated his *four* sermons, with his notes upon *Jonah*, to “ my worthy friends of St. Bridget’s (commonly St. Bride’s) in London,” 1656 and 1657. This collection of sermons consisted of four discourses: 1, “The best of Employment”: 2, “A Gift for God alone”: 3, “The true Penitent”: 4, “The best act of oblivion”, together with notes upon *Jonah*, published by John Stafford. They were preached at St. Bride’s, and published; for Fuller hopes “that these nails which were entered into your hearts at the preaching of them shall now be riveted into them by the printing thereof.” The sermons appear to have been included in a series of ten, and placed in the hands of Stafford for publication, when convenient. Out of the remaining six, three were published in 1656-7, also by Stafford ; “The Best Name on earth,” with several other sermons preached at

St. Bride's, and in other places: "The worst of evils"; "Strange Justice"; "The Snare broken", a sermon on Nov. 5. 1633. There are also others mentioned by Mr. Bailey, who gives some of their titles, as "The former days were better than these"; "Heal the sick"; "Freely ye have received," &c., but he is doubtful if they were ever published, as he cannot find them in any of the publications of Stafford, though he thinks one of them would have peculiar interest in Fuller's biography.

The title of the first of the four sermons is called "The best employment," and is founded on Acts x., 38. In dwelling on the character of the centurion, our preacher speaks favourably of the military profession, and he must have had ample opportunity of observing its members in the civil wars, "Let them not conceive the principles of fearing of God, and fighting with men so opposite, that they cannot meet in the same person; seeing on enquiry it will appear that all the Centurions in the New Testament were either good men, or less bad than many of more peaceable profession." He again here takes occasion to censure "planetical preaching" and "ambulatory preachers." "It is to be feared that these men go about sowing of Schism, setting of Errors, and spreading Faction, whilst our Saviour 'went about doing of good.'"

The subject of the second sermon, *A Gift for God alone*, was the giving of the *heart*. One motive for its performance was "the dignity of the Party desiring it (p. 18): God who might *command*, seems in some sort in the text to *request*. These last ten years have made a sad change in men's conditions. Such who formerly relieved others, have since received help from others. Need hath taught many an

ngenuous tongue a language wherewith formerly it was unacquainted. It may move a miser's heart to pity to hear them beg (not through any default of their own) who had a hand and a heart to distribute to others. But ought we not to be affected with the motion made in the text, wherein the great God of Heaven seemeth in some sort to wave His might and majesty? Nothing is required to the giving of the heart, save the giving of the heart; the more simply, the more surely it is performed" (pp. 18, 20).

"The Weeping of Peter" is the subject of the third sermon, and is founded on Luke xxii. 61, a text, which, saith the preacher, "contains the cure for the falling sickness of the soul, and is so short that it needs no division, only (to avoid confusion) I will handle it, first in reference to St. Peter, then in application to ourselves. Meantime, let none be offended at me that, clean through my discourse, I call him *Saint* Peter, though then in the midst of his misery, whom some will not style so, though now in the height of his happiness. Sure their taking of the Saintship from those in Heaven hath added no more holiness to themselves on earth. But such honour have all His saints, that they are to be mentioned with honour. And see the patent of Peter's Saintship penned with his tears in my text, written out so much the more fairly by how much it was the more blurred, 'and wept bitterly'" (p. 4). He quaintly observes that Peter in his denial did not practice equivocation, "that sluggish piece of Popery," which "could be so early a riser as to up in the Church in the twy-light and first dawning of the Gospel. For, first Peter did consider that he was *forewarned*, and therefore should have been *forearmed*. He could not plead that he was surprised on a

sudden, Christ having given him before a caveat thereof. Secondly, he did it against his free promise and flat protestation ; as if child's play, too mean for man, were good enough for God, fast and loose, bind and break, solemnly say one thing and presently do another. Thirdly, he did it thrice ; once may be imputed to incogitancy, *twice*, ascribed to infirmity, but *thrice* is incapable of any charitable comment. So that favour itself must be forced to condemn it for a wilful offence. It was not a bare denial, but a denial *embossed with oaths and embroidered with curses*, such is the concatenation between one sin and another. The Naturalists report of the providence of the pismire, that when she storeth up grain for the winter, she biteth off both the ends of the corn, therefore to prevent the growing thereof. But if we should be so unhappy as to commit one sin, oh, let us with speedy repentance spoil the procreative power thereof, before that one sin hath begot another ; for how quickly did Peter add swearing to lying, and cursing to both ? ” Further on he embraces the opportunity to rebuke the “ jollity of the age.” A strange people ! who can dance at so doleful music as the passing bell of a church and common-wealth. Take heed ! Atheism knocks at the door of the hearts of all men, and where Luxury is the porter, it will be let in. Let not the multiplicity of so many religions as are now on foot, make you careless to have any, but careful to have the best.” \*

*The Best Act of Oblivion* is the last of the four discourses preached upon Shrove Tuesday, and dated 1655, is founded on David's words “ Remember not the sins my

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\* P. 23.

youth," and it deals more particularly with the besetting sins of the young. It is possible the title may refer to the then recent General Pardon and Amnesty, published on February 24th, 1652.

Fuller appended to these sermons a running *comment* on the first six verses of the *Prophet Jonah*—a commentary remarkable for his common-sense views and knowledge of the world, and practical divinity. We may, perhaps, regret that Fuller did not try his hand at more of these edifying productions, but then the marvel is, that he, under so many drawbacks in such rapid succession, produced the voluminous works he did.

Mr. Nichols, who knew Fuller's works well, the editor of a series of reprints to bring his scarce and valuable works within the reach of all, and so refurbishing of his great name, says of this comment: "But the *notes upon Jonah*, though published only three years after the *Ruth*, carry on their very face marks of the five-and twenty years which had intervened between the composition of the two works. They extend no further than to verse seven of the first chapter of *Jonah*, and have the appearance, here and there, of being jottings for pulpit use, which (like the *Comment*) Fuller published simply in defence against the pirates who preyed on the renown of the popular Divine. But fragments as these *notes* are, we can trace everywhere in them the original engraving, the inimitably *inwoven water-marks* of the genuine *paper of the Fullerian bank of ready wit and sterling piety*. How thoroughly autographic is the following! 'Away then with the Anabaptists, who would set all men *at odds* by making them *even*!' And the very next sentence is like unto it: 'For a

Commonwealth to want a chief, it is the chief of all wants.' ”

“ But it is not so much for its wit and humour, or its apt illustrations from every-day life, that we commend this volume to the reader. It is chiefly valuable for its even tenor of genuine devotion, and of common-sense exposition of Scriptures.” \*

A few extracts from this edifying Comment may be acceptable to our readers, the more so as the work is difficult to procure. Speaking of the call of ministers, our Divine said : “ All prophets and preachers ought to have their patent and commission from God. But as long as there is current coin there will be counterfeit ; Jeroboam’s priests under the law, and Sheva’s sons in the Gospel, and some at this day, who leap from the loom to the pulpit. I must confess an ass’s head was good in a famine ; coarse meat is dainty when no other can be had. But now (thanks be to God) great is the company of the preachers, able and learned, and for aught I see, the Universities afford more vine-dressers than the country can yield them vineyards. No necessity therefore that such blind guides should be admitted.

On the scene of Jonah’s mission being transplanted to Nineveh, he says : “ It is a sign of a ruin of a church, when their pastors are called from their flocks to go to foreigners ; so Jonah, who was here made non-resident against his will. When the eyestrings are broken, the heartstrings hold out not long after. The prophets are called ‘ seers,’ their departure presageth that their parishes soon after will die

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\* Editor’s Preface, v.

and decay, For sure the children of Israel prospered not long after that Jonah, a star of first bigness, was fallen from that firmament, to arise into the horizon of Nineveh."

Speaking of the bigness of Nineveh, "that great city," he says : "It is more than probable that this city, being the metropolis of Assyria, was not a little proud of the greatness of it, as able thereby to outface the judgments of God, and to blunt the edge of His revenging sword with the populousness of her inhabitants, before it could cleave through them. But let no city, though never so great, thus presume upon her multitudes. The greater, the fairer mark she is for the arrows of God's judgments (though indeed nothing seems great in His eyes, save *that* man that seems little in his own) : and God can quickly subtract in a day, by sword, plague, and famine, what health, peace, and plenty hath multiplied in seven years. This island, since the ends of two kingdoms were made the middle of one monarchy, hath got the addition of 'Great Britain' : yet, if compared with the Continent, we may say of it, as Lot of Zoar, 'Is it not a little one?' Isaiah xl. 15, 'Behold the nations are as the drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust in the balance : He taketh up the isles as a very little thing.' Let us, the inhabitants thereof, not be proud of the greatness of it, which probably puffed up Nineveh, 'that great city.' " \*

With regard to the faithfulness of ministers, Fuller says : "To blame, then, are those that are cruelly kind unto their people, in serving pillows under their elbows. Honey-dews, though they be sweet in taste, do blast and black the corn :

and smoothing of people in their sins, though pleasant to the palate of flesh, damneth and destroyeth the soul. And yet this command ‘to cry’ no whit favours their practice, who change the strength of matter into censoriousness of voice. Such pieces make a great report with powder, but are charged with no shot, and are useless to the beating down of sin. And it may be said of their ‘crying,’ that they do but whisper whilst they holloa.”

Speaking of the sins (especially that of oppression) in that Queen of Cities, rising up to Heaven, though gravitating towards Hell, he says: “It were then an advised way for us to make some counter-sounds to drown the noise of our sins, that God may not hear them. First, by sending up sighs from a penitent heart. Secondly, prayers and alms. Acts x. 31, ‘Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God.’ Thirdly, by pleading Christ, His merits; that the loud language of His blood may out-noise and silence the cry of our sins (Heb. xii. 24). Yet let oppressors take notice, that theirs being the sin of Nineveh, as it is of a higher nature, so it is of a higher cry than other sins. And let the remorseless extortioneer take this into consideration: hand-mills, though they grind not so much, yet they grind as much to powder as either windmills or watermills, which are far greater: though these oppressors do not mischief to so many as Nineveh did, yet to so many as come within their clutches they show as merciless cruelty: and this is a sin (which) will come up before God.”

Referring to Jonah’s flight “from the presence of the Lord” to “the sea, where there appears most evident demonstration of God’s powerful presence,” Fuller remarks:

"The sight of the sea might have been a remembrancer to an atheist, and put him in mind of God. Esau went to kill his brother Jacob; but when he met him, his mind was altered; he fell a kissing him, and so departed. Thus the waves of the sea march against the shore, as if they would eat it up; but when they have kissed the utmost brink of the sand, they melt themselves away to nothing. And this spectacle must needs make a man acknowledge a Deity." Jonah also deserted "the office of a prophet and the ministerial function, whereabout God had employed him. What kind of men, then, ought we ministers to be? How decently ought we to demean and behave ourselves, who are chaplains in ordinary to the King of Heaven! Every month is our waiting month; we are bound to constant and continual attendance. It was the title of the Angel Gabriel (Luke i. 19): 'I am Gabriel that stand in the presence of God,' *i.e.*, ever ready to be sent by Him in any employment. Now, as angels are God's ministers in, so ministers are God's angels on earth, and stand in His presence, from which Jonah did fly."

Discussing the probability that "Jonah altered his calling and turned merchant," our Divine observes: "Traffic in itself is lawful, making those wooden bridges over the sea which join the islands to the continent; adopting those commodities to countries whereof they are barren themselves by nature. But it is not fitting that the tribe of Levi should change lots with the tribe of Asshur, or that those who have *curam animarum* should take upon them *curam animalium*, apply themselves to husbandry, grazing, or any mechanical trade."

Many people become devout in illness or in presence of

death, but relapse into sin when danger is over, and of these our Author comments on the fear of the mariners : “ Wherefore let us labour that we be as good when afflictions are removed as when they are inflicted ; as pious in wealth as in want ; as well affected in health as in sickness ; that in prosperity we prove not apostates from those pious resolutions which we made in adversity. When David had appointed Solomon king, ‘ Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, answered *Amen*. And the Lord God of my lord the king say *Amen*.’ So when in afflictions we have made any vows of future piety if we have deliverance, let us pray God to ratify and confirm our resolutions, and to give us strength to fulfil and perform them ; lest otherwise we take but a lease of piety during the time that the tempest doth last, and relapse to our former wickedness when the calm begins.”

On the text, “ And cast the wares into the sea,” our Divine says : “ What shall a man gain ? Therefore, when it cometh in competition whether we shall lose our souls or our goods, let us drown our outward pelf, lest it drown us : let us cast it away, lest we be cast away with it. ‘ Woe be to him that loadeth himself with thick clay ’ (Hab. ii. 6). Rather as Joseph saved himself from his mistress, though he left his garment behind him : so it matters not, so we lose (the clothes of our souls) our earthly possessions, so be it our souls themselves still remain safe and entire. And if in such case we must forego our goods, much more must we forsake our sins, which are good for nothing but to sink us down to destruction. ‘ Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us,’ and not only pray to God to assist us, but with the mariners in the text, back

and second our prayers by using all lawful means for our own safety."

From Jonah's action, or rather inaction, in lying down and going fast asleep, we "Learn, first, It is a great sin with Jonah to be drowsy when the rest are at their devotions: and many such *separatists* and *non-conformists* we have, who by their sluggishness divide themselves from the whole congregation. Indeed, Eutychus had more plea for his sleeping, because St. Paul's sermon was continued until midnight. But we may say to our people, as our Saviour to His disciples, 'What, can ye not watch with me one hour?' Secondly, It is a great sin with us (with Jonah) to be secure whilst we, with others, are in common danger and calamity. Consider the present estate of the Christian Church. Is it not tossed with the tempest of war, as bad as Jonah's ship? It lost an anchor, when the Palatinate was lost. It sprung a leak, when Rochelle was taken. One of the main-masts thereof was split, when the King of Sweden was killed.\* Though we in this island be safe in the sides of the ship, yet let us not be sleepy as Jonah; but with our prayers commend to God the distresses of our beyond-sea brethren; and thank God that we, like Gideon's fleece, are dry, when the ground round about is wet with weeping, steeped in tears, bedewed with mourning."

Here is a powerful extract upon the necessity of authority on the words "So the Shipmaster": "Now sithence (since) there was a governor in a ship, it teacheth us that no company can long subsist without order and superiority one

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\* Gustavus Adolphus, at the Battle of Lutzen, Nov. 6th, 1632.

above another. From the courtiers to the prisoners (Gen. xxxix. 22) Joseph had all the prisoners in the prison committed to his hand. Ten is but a small number, yet Moses made governors over tens (Exod. xviii. 21). Yea, as there is Michael the Archangel in Heaven, so is there Beelzebub the prince of his devils in hell ; so much order there is in the very place of confusion. Away then with the Anabaptist who would set all men at odds by making all men even. For a *commonwealth* to want (a) *chief*, it is the *chief of all wants* : every man will do what he list, few what they should. Too much liberty would make men slaves to their own selfwill. Let us, therefore, be ‘subject to the higher powers,’ knowing that ‘there are no powers but of God.’”

On the word “arise,” our Divine exhorteth to activity. “Men must put away all laziness, when they prepare themselves to prayer. Indeed, when in sickness we are God’s prisoners, then we can only rouse up our souls, and not arise in our bodies. Then, with Hezekiah, we may lie on our bed and pray, pleading to God, as Mephibosheth to David, that his ‘servant is lame.’ But otherwise, ‘cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently.’ The first fruits of the ass was not to be dedicated to God in the Levitical law, but the neck thereof was to be broken. Let us break the ass’s neck. Let us banish all sloth and laziness, when we go about to perform any service of God.”

Fuller’s remarks about cards and recreation in general, founded on the verse “and they cast lots,” are well worth remembering. “Now because lots may say to cards, what Naomi said of Boaz, ‘They are near unto us and of our affinity,’ something also of the use of them. It were no great harm if there were no other cards used than those of

clothiers about work, and of mariners in the ship. But as for cards to play with, let us not wholly condemn them, lest, lacing our consciences too straight, we make them to grow away on the wrong side. Such recreations are lawful, if we use them as Jonathan tasted the honey ; putting forth the end of the rod, he touched a little of it, and his eyes were cleared. But let us take heed of a surfeit, into which those do fall, who either play out of covetousness, or for more than their estates can bear, or constantly and continually. All their meat is sauce ; all the days in their almanack playdays, thought few holy-days. The creation lasted but a week, but these men's recreations all the days of their lives. Such using of lawful exercises is altogether unlawful."

The conclusion of this unfinished comment is as true as beautiful, and refers to the well-known subterfuge of shifting the blame on others' shoulders. "He that was greatest in the sin, would not be at all in the shame. Should God scourge this land with famine, or any other general punishment, the courtiers would impute the cause thereof to the covetousness of the citizens ; the citizens to the prodigality of the courtiers ; the rich to the unthankfulness, discontented murmurings of the poor ; the poor to the hard-heartedness of the rich ; the laity to the clergy's want of preaching ; the clergy to the laity's want of practising. Everyone would post the fault from himself, and be inquisitive with these mariners, 'for whose fault this evil was upon ' them.'

These extracts will be enough to warrant Mr. Nicholls' remarks of this fragment that "it is chiefly valuable for its even tenor of genuine devotion and of common-sense exposition of Scripture," and quite worth republication.

Fuller all this time was a silent but highly interested spectator of the wonderful events which were happening in Church and State, which culminated in the Protectorate under the dictatorship of Cromwell in 1658. During this critical period our Divine contrived to retain his official position and hold his parochial cure, without flinching in boldly declaring his predilection for the old historical Church of the country, and its episcopal regimen. He *quietly* deported himself under the "powers that be," and being strong in the affections of his people, the committee men, though they looked askance at him, as they did at Baxter, left him to go quietly on. The rural parochial clergy were allowed to use the Book of Common Prayer, or certain modifications of it, if the local ecclesiastical boards made no objection. For some reason or another, the clergy in Essex were wonderfully free from molestation, and in London, where Fuller was more at home, even greater liberty was conceded. Many of the Conformist Clergy were permitted to preach without let or hindrance. Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, "kept a conventicle in London in as open a manner as the Dissenters did after the toleration, and so did several other episcopalian divines."

Evelyn remarks, date April 15th, 1655, "Dr. Wilde preached at St. Gregorie's, the Ruling Powers conniving at the use of his Liturgy, &c., in this church alone. In the afternoon Mr. Pierson preached at East Cheap." Matters were better on the whole in London than the provinces, for "in London," says Mr. Lathbury, author of the History of Convocation, "the presence and influence of the Protector was sufficient to protect the clergy, but in the country the

letter of the declaration against the Common Prayer Book was strictly observed."

Cromwell, towards the end of the year 1655, on account of the Royalist rising in the West Country, took stringent measures, not only against those of this party, but the clergy, who were supposed to be abetting them. This naturally compromised many of the old clergy, and all those who had favoured the cause of the late King were deprived or sequestered. The edict was particularly severe against all schoolmasters, tutors, private chaplains, as it was imagined that they fomented discontent, and they were treated as "delinquents" accordingly. This was particularly hard upon those of the older clergy, who had been driven to the scholastic profession for a precarious livelihood, including such men as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and Dr. William Fuller, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. With regard to these, Fuller states that it was "strange to conceive how many of them got any subsistence, or livelihood to maintain themselves. This mindeth me of the occasion of the Greek proverb (Zenodotus the author thereof) ἡ τέθνηκεν ἡ διδάσκει γράμματα 'he is either dead, or teacheth school.' For when Nicias, the general at Athens (having many scholars in his army), had fought unfortunately against the Sicilians, and when such few as returned were interrogated, what became of their companions? This was all they could return. 'They were either dead, or taught school': a poor and woeful employment it seems, in those days, as weighed in the other scale, against death, so indifferent was the odds betwixt them. The same we conceive the hard hap of such fellows, as survived the grief of their ejection. Many betook themselves to the painful profession of schoolmaster:

no calling which is honest being disgraceful, especially to such who, for their conscience, have deserted a better condition."

It was on Christmas Day that the edict came into operation, when Evelyn states that he heard Dr. Wilde preach the "Funeral Sermon of Preaching," this being the last day after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer the Sacraments, teach schools, on the pain either of imprisonment or exile. "This was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse (from 2 Cor., xiii. 9) that it drew many tears from the auditory. "God make us thankful Who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion." "Of this rigid severity," says Perry, "there was no relaxation until the Restoration. Whatever schemes of toleration were vented for sectaries 'Popery and Prelacy' were always exempted, and the latter term was interpreted to mean all those who were loyal to the Church of England. In the Protector's view of Government, indeed, considerations of justice, as such, had no place. Each of the kinds of tyrannical oppression so loudly complained of under Charles I. were repeated under Cromwell. Parliaments were coerced and menaced, members punished for freedom of speech, and assemblies when unpalatable abruptly dissolved."\*

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\* Perry's "Church of England," ii. 243.

To this proclamation Fuller paid no heed, but held on in the even tenour of his way, strong in the affection of his friends and parishioners, and perhaps (from his moderation) being in the good will of the Government. "The good Doctor," his biographer says, "forebore not to preach as he did before : the convincing power either of his doctrine or his work defending, and keeping him out of the hands of that unreasonable man, Cromwell."\*

"The encouragement of Fuller's friends and 'the strong persuasions of his conscience' roused the resolve 'to do his duty as a minister of Christ, and leave the issue to God.' But he did not look only upon this prohibition in general as a severe punishment inflicted on the nation, by removing their teachers into corners—nay, remote corners—of the world if they disobeyed that edict ; but in particular (at first view of it) as some punishment inflicted on himself, as if God had refused him, and laid him aside as not fit to serve Him : and this he referred to his former remissness in the discharge of that high function, whereunto he was separated and called."

This edict, of course, meant the utter ruin of the clergy. This was to close up every avenue of support to the persecuted clergy, and to drive them forth from every shelter with the mere recklessness of wanton cruelty. Many good men were then thrown back upon their own resources, or were compelled to receive the charity of their friends. From his exceptional position Fuller was enabled, as well as Ussher (who went in person to the Protector with a strong

\* "Life," p. 43.

† Pp. 43-4.

Protest) to mitigate the sufferings and hardships of some of his brother clergy. His generosity, too, was unbounded, as far as his own comparative scanty means would permit. This is what his anonymous biographer says: “Now did he superabundantly exercise that grace of charity to all persons distressed and ruined by this sad occasion (the edict). What his own small estate could not do, he helped out by exhorting and persuading all men of his acquaintance or congregation (for so was the Church of England reduced, even in that to the form of that schism that ruined it) or select auditory: so that what by his powerful example and as strong persuasions, he did minister effectually to their relief. Not to omit one particular charitable office of the Doctor to the same kind of sufferers; from the expiration of the war he constantly retained one that had been a Captain in the Royal Army, and whose fortunes and conditions could neither keep him according to that degree, nor sustain him or relieve him in any other. This the good Doctor did out of a loyal and honourable sense of such persons’ sufferings and contempts far unworthy their cause or their desert: and did therefore allow him £10 yearly, besides diet and lodging till the Captain died.” His biographer further continues: “The grace that was super-eminent in the good Doctor was *charity*, both in giving and forgiving; as he had laboured through our civil broils after peace, so (when that could not through our sins be attained) did he with the same earnestness press the duty of love, especially among brethren of the same afflicted and too much already divided Church: and therefore was most exemplary in keeping the band of it himself though in a matter that most nearly concerned his credit and fame the

chiefest worldly thing studied and intended.”\* Owing to the great poverty and distress which the clergy were called to undergo, Evelyn tells us that a collection was now made among the orthodox laity for their suffering and almost starving ministers, many of whom were in prison without any means of support, while private fasts were kept among the devout to supplicate the removal of the judgments which oppressed the Church.

At length Fuller’s time came to go before that dreaded examining body, with plenary inquisitorial powers, the Tryers, and give an account of the faith which was in him. These commissioners—“Cromwell’s Tryers” they were called—were first appointed in 1654 for the “approbation of public preachers.” They not only took cognizance of a minister’s faith and practice—of his objective belief, or doctrinal standard, but wielding the powers of the confessional itself, probed the inner life and subjective experience of the minister, or candidate under examination. This inquisitorial system gave great offence to the Episcopalians, for the Commissioners, nine of whom were laymen, were mainly drawn from the Independents, though as Baxter says there were a few “sober Presbyterians.” Politics also entered into the examination, for submission to the ruling powers was demanded and expected.

A second ordinance, extending the measure to each of the counties, was passed August, 1654, and these county “ejectors” consisted of ten clerics, and some fifteen to thirty laymen for each shire. Five formed a quorum, and they had power to summon any “public preacher, lecturer,

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\* P 48.

or other person formerly called Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, settled, or are hereafter to be settled in any benefice, commonly called a benefice with cure of souls, or public lecturer." These "Tryers" had the power to remove from their places any ignorant, insufficient, or scandalous minister (under which latter term fell the use of the Book of Common Prayer). It is said that "Cromwell's Inquisition" controlled the Church, wielding more power than all the Bishop's Courts put together, under the former régime, and one called their authority Hyper-Archiepiscopal and Super-Metropolitan. These sessions lasted on till 1659.

Fuller holding the double position of beneficed parson and public lecturer, might have been examined by these Tryers under either category, nor does it seem quite clear which he elected to be tried before. But it is quite certain that he did go through this ordeal, and in all probability he preferred the jurisdiction of the London body, electing to go before them, hoping thereby to give satisfaction to all parties both at London and Waltham; perhaps also in London "he had a friend at court."

Our Divine does not seem to have relished the situation, and he had a "very formidable notion of them," a feeling, however, which was not shared by Calamy. He did not like the hair-splitting soul-inspecting questions which the Tryers asked. "He had some mis-givings," says the Edinburgh Reviewer, "as to whether he might be able to answer satisfactorily all the inquisitorial inquiries of this strange court, and whether he might not get *limed* by some of their theological subtleties." In this emergency, Fuller, like a man of good common-sense, sought the friendly aid of John Howe, the preacher at St. Margaret's, Westminster,

who was never known to refuse assistance to applicants "if they were but persons of real merit." Howe proved Fuller's friend, as he did in the case of many other "Episcopalians and Royalists," according to the judicious advice of Baxter.

The account of the interview with our witty Divine is given by Calamy himself. Howe then resided at Whitehall, and it is supposed that the meeting took place there. Fuller was ushered into Howe's presence, tall in person, "with a proportionable bigness to become it," dressed as usual, "much according to the old English guise," and with a ruddy and cheerful countenance, sufficient to ensure his condemnation by the Tryers, who were all, so report goes, "to find in lines of beard and face the physiognomy of grace." Howe was a spare thin man, much younger than Fuller, with gentle manners, and he bade his visitant welcome. Fuller, a "gentleman," according to Calamy, "who was generally upon the merry pun," thus accosts his brother : "Sir, you may perceive that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a Passage that is very strait ; I beg you would be so good as to give me a *Shove*\* and help me through."

Howe, who must have heard of Fuller, for he had been beneficed in Devonshire, before he became one of Cromwell's Chaplains, at once recognised his merit. He gave his Episcopalian friend his very best advice, most truly and willingly, and fortified with this, our Divine duly appeared before the Tryers, Being interrogated in the usual way, "Whether he had ever had any Experience of a

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\* A good old English word in those days.

Work of Grace in his heart," our Divine replied " That he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made Conscience of his very thoughts," a reply characterized by caution and vested in generalities, yet sufficient to show his interlocutors, what sort of a man they had to deal with.\* What he meant by it was "that it was not without the strictest scrutiny into his motives that he had ventured on the ministerial office." Fuller's serious and fitting reply entirely satisfied his questioner, "as indeed it well might," adds Calamy. To whom we are to ascribe this oracular response, deponent sayeth not. The phrase "given in for answer" bears every evidence of a studied reply, but as Fuller "promised to follow" Howe's guidance, it has been ascribed to Howe himself. We are more inclined to think that he followed the spirit rather than the letter of Howe's advice, and the answer is quite too *Fullerian*. Besides, our Divine was much too original to go in any other man's literary armour, however choice it might be in itself. Then again in his *Wounded Conscience*, there is a sentence very analogous to it, both in tone and spirit. The question is "Art thou careful to order thy very thoughts, because

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\* One of the chief questions concerned the precise time and manner of the conversion of the candidate, concerning which Fuller had only recently declared his distaste, looking upon such enquiries as neither "manners nor religion." "Some there are who exact of every Christian (as a touchstone to their sincerity) to render an account of the exact time of their conversion, with the circumstances thereof, how, when, and where performed. I must crave leave to enter myself a Dissenter herein conceiving such a demand unreasonable, as generally required essential to all true believers." (Dedication, Bk. iii., "Church Hist.")

the Infinite Searcher of hearts doth behold them?" Professor Rogers makes this remark anent Fuller's reply: "That while it was sufficient to answer the general purpose for which the question was put, it was not so particular as to involve any of those perplexing discussions which were the delight of the men and of the age. If honest Thomas Fuller had attempted a more specific answer, it is by no means improbable that in spite of all his excellence, he would not have satisfied the subtle and 'distinguishing' spirit which animated many of his examiners. He might, but for Howe's timely 'shove,' have stuck in the dreaded passage after all."

Fuller therefore was continued in his parochial sphere and predicatorial duties, and the attempt to oust him from his cure, which was principally due to political feeling, and which often disgraced these examinations, signally failed, and came to an ignominious end, as it deserved to do.

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## CHAPTER XII.

## FULLER'S MINOR WORKS (2).

"But we confesse there is a great abuse of *Philosophy*, making it *vain* and *deceitful* (according to the *Apostle's* just complaint, when it presumeth by the *principles of Reason* to *crosse* and *controle* the *Articles of Faith*: then indeed it becometh *vain* (*κενη*) or *empty*, as wherein *nulla impletio et multa inflatio*, nothing to fill man's minde, though too much to *puffe it up*; which is true both of *Philosophy* in general and of all parts thereof."--(*History of the University of Cambridge*. Epistle Dedicatory.)



HERE were giants in those days, especially in the literary world, and the more we look into those voluminous works, which our Author continued to pour forth from the Press, the greater is our astonishment; not a year passed without some new work being forthcoming. How he found time to collect the materials alone, to say nothing of rearranging and embellishing them, the more is our imagination dazzled. Page after page in the British Museum catalogue is taken up with works of Thos. Fuller, D.D. (Prebendary of Sarum), and in it we have counted thirty separate sermons. His acknowledged and standard works, including such bulky ones as the "Church History" (with its many maps and engravings), the "Pisgah," and "The Worthies," amount to thirty-three; the works Fuller enriched as Contributor, Editor or Translator, number twenty-eight; while

there are two or three doubtful ones, and of spurious works attributed to him any number. He looks like a very Atlas, with a whole world of letters on his shoulders. When, too, we consider that all these works, necessitating long and frequent journeys to collect materials, were produced in very troublous times—the most troublous perhaps in our history—times which witnessed the execution of a king, the overthrow of monarchy, the sufferings of his own order, and the extinction almost of his own Church, and when he had superadded the duties of a military chaplain (in the field), or parish priest (in the country), and public lecturer (in London), our astonishment and admiration know no bounds.

In 1657, our Divine put out another volume of sermons. The *Best Name* on Earth, with several other sermons, preached at St. Bride's (Bridget's), and in other places. The "Worst of Evils;" "Strange Justice;" "The Snare Broken;" a sermon on Nov. 5, 1654. It is an octavo volume, printed for John Stafford, and again published in 1659, with the above title, printed for the use of William Byron, Gent. There is an engraved title page to the edition of 1659 and intended for Antioch, with these lines :

"Behold this ancient city, from whence came,  
As from the sacred font, the Christian's name.  
Heaven grant that our once famous London may  
What Antioch gave, in time not take away."

—To Φv.

This is a very scarce work and difficult to obtain, but there are two copies in the British Museum Library, and it is embellished with the *Abel* Portrait. Fuller thus speaks in his preface anent the inversion with regard to their

printing and pagination: “These sermons have the disadvantage of the former (*i.e.*, the 1656 edition of four) by the late starting thereof; and were for some private reasons of the Author retarded in printing, yet possibly they may have good speed to overtake the rest. They were first made at the request of his worthy friend, now deceased, and preached in a private parish near London: since they have proceeded into a more public congregation.” It is evident they also were published at the importunity of Fuller’s friends and admirers. The subject of his first sermon is “The Best Name on Earth,” that is the *Christian*, a subject “not improper,” he says, “for the times wherein so many opinions are set on foot, and new names of several factions daily invented.” This discourse is founded on Acts xi. 26, and handles some favourite topics of the Divine.

The sermon begins by observing that “the Scripture gives four names to Christians, taken from the four Cardinal graces so necessary to man’s salvation; Saints from their holiness: Believers from their faith: the Brethren from their love: the Disciples from their knowledge.” The word *Christian* he says, is “used twice in the Bible, or if you will, but once-and-a-half,” referring to 1 Peter iv. 6 (“but if a man suffer as a *Christian*, let him not be ashamed”), and Acts xxvi. 28 (with but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a *Christian*), but he does not agree with modern writers, who agree in ascribing an honourable meaning to those verses, and also in supposing that the Infant Church took the name upon itself as a prudential act, and “pitcht upon,” as a name in common for both Jew and Gentile. He notices the word “*Jesuit*,”

and comments upon “the suspicion of blasphemies” in it, and he gives prominence to the heathen etymology of the word “*Christiani* quasi *Chrestani*,” from  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\circ\delta$ , the Greek word for *mild* and *meek*, as more merciful men, more pitiful and compassionate than any others, and to their disparagement he contrasts with it the deportment of modern Christians towards one another. “So ill we brook our names.” “Here we must not forget” he remarks, “how the heathen made another deduction and etymology of the word *Christians*: for such Pagans in the primitive times, beholding the love and charity betwixt Christians, how they mutually relieved each other’s wants; but especially how they conversed together in the time of plagues and epidemical diseases, comforting one another when heathen people started from the embraces of their nearest relations; I say, seeing this: they conceived they were called Christians, quasi *Chrestani* from  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\circ\delta$ , the Greek word for *mild* and *meek*, as more merciful men, more pitiful and compassionate persons than many others.

“But alas! should heathens now look on the carnage and conversation of Christians, one towards another, how spiteful and cruel they are; how bearish, how boarish, how bruitish we are in our mutual dissensions, they would conclude us not called from meekness, so ill we brook our names.” In his practical application he proceeds to confute (1) those that were ashamed of the name Christian, and (2) those that are a shame to the name Christian. Taking the first division, he charges it against the Church of Rome, that in Rome itself the name Christian was taken to be a term of reproach, and that Roman Catholics were ashamed of the name because they were rather pleased with and

prided themselves upon, the names of Dominicans, Franciscans, &c.

He then historically reviews the various names of Christians—the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Protestants, &c.—which he demonstrates were “fixed and fastened on us by the spleen and envy of our Romish adversaries”; and he censures their unfair and disingenuous dealing in, “first aspersing us with such nicknames, first calling us so, and then accusing us for being so called.” “Here I will not descend to those petty names of private Sects, which these last ten years have produced, nor will I honour them with any mention.\* Chiefly because as the youngest, of discretion, in this congregation, may remember the beginning of such names, so I hope the oldest may live to see the end of them, when such ridiculous and absurd names shall utterly be abolished.” Passing on to the second division, he discusses the profane, the ignorant and the factious; exhorting his hearers in conclusion to leave off all by-names of parties, interests and factions, and return to “our best, largest, and ancientest name.”

The next sermon is called *The Worst of Evils*, and was founded on the text, Ephesians ii. 3, “By nature the children of wrath,” and is a good specimen of the practical

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\* Fuller having stated that there was but one legitimate religion in England—that of the old historical and reformed National Church—he goes on to say, “How many spurious ones she hath, when six, sixty, or six score, I neither do know nor will enquire, nor will I load my book and trouble the reader with their new numerous and hard names.”—(“Mixt Contemplations,” xxi.)

nature of Fuller's divinity. Upon this topic of original sin—so full of interest to a controversial divine—he proceeds “to deliver plain and positive doctrine, without thorny disputes or curious speculations, lest, as Abraham's ram was caught in the thicket, so I embroil you and myself in difficult controversies.” “Let us not busy our brains so much to know how *original sinne* came unto us, as labour with our heart to know how it should be got out of us.” In his own inimitable way, Fuller exposes the futility of Bellarmine's defence of the Romish doctrine, that *original sin* is but the privation of Adam's pristine righteousness, without the consequent depravation of our nature. Bellarmine wished to prove, that Adam was created with a reluctance and rebellion of the inferior powers of the soul against the superior faculties thereof; nay, that he could not, as a creature compounded of matter, have been made more perfect. “Thus they go about,” so our Divine says, “to make (as I may say) some corruption of Adam in his state of integrity, that they may make way for some integrity in the sons of Adam after their corruption.” Fuller approves the resolution “of the Church of England” in the ninth article of religion—“the Golden Article”—and he boldly asserts the following: “Which, as all the rest, was written by their hands who had good heads and hearts, in whom wisdom did contend with their learning, but their piety was a conqueror above both: who, what they learnedly distilled out of the Scripture, faithfully infused into those articles.” He then applies the text to those who are children to parents, and to those who are parents to children, and concludes in these words: “Thus every day we sin, and sorrow after our sin, and sin

after our sorrow, and do what we would not, and the wind of God's spirit bloweth us one way, and the tide of our corruption hurrieth us another. Those things he that seeth not in himself is sottish-blind ; he that seeth and confesseth not is damnable proud ; he that confesseth and bewaileth not is desperately profane ; he that bewaileth and fighteth not against is unprofitably pensive ; but he that in some weak manner doth all these is a saint in reversion, and shall be one in possession hereafter."

The last sermon was preached as an assize sermon, and is entitled *Strange Justice*, being founded on Judges xix. 30, " And it was so that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day : consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds." It was delivered apparently at *Dorchester*, for Fuller alludes to the elevated position of the town of Shaftesbury " in this county," his words implying that he had been at that town. He makes the following remarks on *hospitality*, alluding to the circumstances of the chapter : " None invited this Levite home, for then amongst the Jews there was no Inns ; or rather every house was an Inn wherein strangers were freely entertained, and at their departure thanks was all the shot they had to discharge. At last comes an old man from his work out of the field at evening, and gives him a free invitation. Mark, I pray you, his character. (1) He was an old man : your youthful gallants have more bravery on their backs than bounty in their hands : alas ! they have been born since the death of hospitality. Even amongst us, for the most part they are old men of ancient stamp and edition, almost worn out, which are most to be recom-

mended for their hospitality and bounty. (2) He came from his work. Those are most pitiful to others, who are most painful in their own callings. Your great gamesters, who will play away an estate by wholesale, are loth to retail out alms to the poor, whilst naturally the best husbands are the best housekeepers; liberality being a fire which is maintained by thrift."

The mischief referred to was set down in the first verse "because there was no king in Israel." He then adds, "A tyranny is to be preferred before an anarchy: for a commonwealth to want a chief is the chief of all wants, every man will do what he lists, none what he should."

It was in the course of this year that Fuller preached and published a funeral sermon, on the death of his very intimate friend, Mr. George Heycock, at St. Clement Danes, Strand. It was called *The Righteous Man's Service to his Generation*, and was founded on the text (Acts xiii. 36), "For David after he had served his own generation, by the will of God, fell on sleep."

Of this gentleman, Fuller says: "He was well known to many of you, and to none better than myself. He was an excellent subject: for according to that which his conscience (with many others) conceived to be loyalty, he lost much, and hazarded all his estate. What shall I speak of his parts of nature, so far above his education and profession, that he might have passed for a scholar among scholars, for his wit and pleasant expression. But God hath made him His *free-man*, and paid him his wages, for so well serving his generation." In this sermon he drew also the character of David, and, after animadverting upon those who served not their generation, he observed:

“ But now that my sword may cut on both sides, as hitherto we have confuted such who are faulty in their defect, and will not serve their generation : so others offered in the excess, not being only servants, but slaves and vassals to the age they live in : prostituting their consciences to do anything (how unjust soever) to be a favourite to the times. Surely a cautious concealment is lawful, and wary silence is commendable in *perilous times*. Amos v. 13. *It is an evil time, therefore, the wise shall hold their peace.* And I confess that a prudential compliance in religion in things indifferent is justifiable, as also in all civil concerns, wherein the conscience is not violated, but wherein the will of the times crosseth the will of God, our indentures are cancelled from serving them, and God only is to be obeyed.

“ There is some difference in reading the precept (Rom. xii., 11) occasioned from the similitude of the words in the original (though utterly unlike in our English tongue) some reading it *serving the Lord* (*κυρίῳ*), others *serving the time καιρῷ*. I will not dispute which in the Greek is the truer copy : but do observe, that David's precedent in my text is a perfect expedient, to demonstrate that both lections may, and ought to be reconciled in our practice. *He served his generation*, and here is *serving the time*, but what followed ? *By the will of God* and here is *serving the Lord*. This by him was, by us must be performed.”

This sermon, which is very scarce, was afterwards published, as when Fuller delivered it, he explained “ to the friends of the party deceased,” he “ had scarce the stump of a voice left me, so that very few did distinctly hear what I did deliver.” It was afterwards added to the sermons in

the *House of Mourning*. The point of interest naturally centres in the light it throws on Fuller's wary walking in those dangerous days ("the badness whereof is more dangerous than difficult to describe, and may with more safety be confess by the hearers than expressed by the preacher in his place"). Fuller's prudence made him take refuge in the old advice "open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn." For his happy rendering of a disputed reading stood him in good stead, and was illustrated by Fuller's unusually prudent conduct, being dictated by his good common sense, and formulated by necessity.

During this same year, Fuller's son, John, who subsequently edited his father's great work the "Worthies of England," and dedicated it to his most dread majesty King Charles II., and who had been educated at St. Paul's School, under Mr. John Langley, the Head Master, for the last five years, was entered at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (where his father had been a fellow), under Dr. Edmund Matthews. He was now sixteen years of age, and he took his B.A. degree in 1660. He was admitted to a fellowship in his own college, January 21st, 1663, by a royal mandate, and proceeded to his Master's degree in 1664.

Once more, in 1657, our author was busy with his pen, and contributed a biography of Rev. Henry Smith, to a collected edition of his popular sermons, which received the commendation of both Nash and Strype. He was educated at Oxford, but did "not proceed," says Fuller, "a divine per saltum, as too many now-a-days—I mean, leaping over all human arts and sciences: but furnished himself plentifully therewith." He had scrupulous objections to

subscription, and being “loath to make a rent either in his own conscience or in the Church,” he adopted the expedient of becoming a Lecturer, and was accordingly attached to St. Clement Danes.

Smith received the protection of Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, at a time when “quiet Nonconformists were prosecuted to persecution.” His church was crowded with delighted audiences, and his popularity gained for him the soubriquet of “The Silver-tongued Preacher, being but one metal, in price and purity, beneath St. Chrysostom himself.” Fuller had spoken with commendation of his sermons before he “preposed” this life: “Whereas generally the sermons of these days are now grown out of fashion (such is our Age’s curiosity and affectation of novelty), Smith’s sermons keep up their constant credit, as appears by their daily impressions, calculated for all times, places, and persons; so solid, the learned may partly admire; so plain, the unlearned may perfectly understand them.”\* He further remarks: “That these sermons have been made as a handmaid to prayer bedward in some families is not unknown.” It is added by Strype that they “have been a common family book even to this day, and often reprinted.” The sermons are composed in terse and vigorous language, without being marred with an affectation or eccentricity of thought or language. “Some fifteen years since,” says Fuller (who had been making inquiries about Smith’s life), “I consulted the Jesses, I mean such as passed for old men in the parish of St. Clement Danes, but could recover very little of them, either of the time

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\* “Church History,” ix. 142.

or manner of his death, save that they conceived his disease was a consumption. I perused also the church register, and found it silent concerning the date of his death, probably about 1600."

With regard to set forms of prayer, we have more than once had occasion to notice the decided preference Fuller gave to these, over those effusions which were the outcome of the "pretence of the Spirit"; and his predilections in their favour grew all the more vivid as he recalled the former "pleasures of the temple, the order of the services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor night; these were the pleasures of her peace." Many of the clergy, owing to the pains and penalties against the use of the Book of Common Prayer, were driven in self-defence to compile set forms of prayer and devotional manuals, full of fervour and devotion, for their own and peoples' use. Some of these have come down to our day, and will be found in different "Treasuries" and "Manuals" or "Armouries" of Devotion. Adaptations were also made to meet the altered circumstances of the times. Dr. Hewit put out one such collection in the year 1659, which was entitled "*Prayers of intercession for their use who mourn in secret for the publick calamities of this Nation.*" With an *anniversary prayer for the 30th January,*" the litany in which this petition was contained: "That it may please Thee to look compassionately on this persecuted part of Thy Church, now driven from Thy public Altars into corners and secret closets: that Thy protection may be

over us wherever we shall be scattered, and the souls of Thy servants kept up upright in the midst of a corrupting and corrupted generation. *O hear me for Thy Son Jesu's sake.*" Fuller had himself gained some reputation for his precatorial compositions, for in the year 1654 Stafford had entered a collection of prayers for preaching, one of the authors of these forms being Fuller himself. Fuller's successor at Waltham, Dr. Reeves, had published such a collection in 1651; and another collection, by "cavalier parsons," was issued in 1659, called "*Pulpit Sparks, or choice forms of Prayer before and after Sermon.*" Fuller's contribution is a terse and epigrammatic prayer before Sermon, and is characterised by its simplicity, holiness, and that charity which was not usually found in compositions of that nature. The following petition breathes the very spirit of pure Christianity, and shows us the sort of man Fuller was, and the sterling nature of his personal piety: "Bless all those whom Thine own self in lawful authority hast placed over us, by what name or title soever known to us: bless their counsels and consultations, and make them under Thyself the happy instruments of the good of this nation." The following remarks are made by Fuller's anonymous biographer and eulogist with regard to this and his other prayers: "A constant form of prayer he used, as in his family, so in his public ministry: only varying or adding upon special occasions, as occurrences intervening required, because not only hesitation (which the good Doctor, for all his strength of memory and invention, was afraid of before so awful a presence as the Majesty of Heaven) was in prayer more offensive than other discourses, but because such excursions in that duty, in the extempore

way, were become the idol of the multitude." After alluding to a passage in his *Mixt Contemplations* respecting new ceremonies in the Church being but probationers on their good behaviour, he continues : " He could as well declare his mind and errand, and of all others likewise, with as much plainness, clearness, and (which is more) reverence, as any who cried up the spirit and their own way, in opposition to the laws and the judgment of antiquity : so to take the people with their new-fangled words and licentious easiness of discoursing with God Almighty, whose attributes they squared to their petitions, that it be not said, wills." \*

There is also a notice relative to Fuller mentioned by this biographer which requires to be inserted here : " He was a little while before (*i.e.*, previous to his appointment to the Rectory of Cranford, in Middlesex, March, 1658) wooed also to accept of a living at —— in Essex, which for some respects he owed the Patron, and to employ that rich talent with which God had so bountifully trusted him, he undertook, and piously there continued his labours till his settlement in London. In the interim came out a book of Dr. Heylin's." This refers to the *Animadversions*, preached in 1659. What the biographer refers to cannot be discovered ; but Mr. Bailey, one of the most exhaustive and painstaking of writers, says : " I have been able to find no confirmation of this statement, which our careless authority may be confounding either with some of the Essex livings, as being held by Fuller in Essex, or with Fuller's brief residences in that county at the mansions.

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\* "Life," pp. 81-83.

of his friends. Had Fuller held another country living, some tradition of the fact would undoubtedly have remained."\*

In point of fact, there seems to be some little obscurcation or discrepancy as to where Fuller's "location," to borrow an American phrase, really was about this period. Something evidently had happened, but we cannot exactly tell what.

It is said that Fuller had applied to the University of Oxford for the office of sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, but to warrant the assertion there is only the conclusion of the scurrilous speech of Robert South, of Christ Church, who was taking his M.A. degree, and also held the post of *Terrae-filius*, or licensed jackpudding and jester. In his oration he alludes to Fuller in the most contemptuous manner, and speaks of him as "that Fuller of yours," *vestrum Fullerum Historicum illum Ecclesiasticum*. The jester has a side-blow for Cambridge, and avers that Fuller's jokes are preserved in the archives of that University, that they may be shown with other monuments of antiquity. And he gives three specimens, which are all that the sister University can produce. Out of gratitude, however, for small mercies, his statue was going to be erected there, either in wood or stone, which ever he most resembled, with a ridiculous inscription, as "Facultatis jocandi Doctor" and "Artis memoriae et artis mendicandi Professor." His lampooner describes him as running about the streets of London, habited in an ecclesiastical cloak, with his big volume of "Church History" under one arm, and his little

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\* Bailey's "Life," p. 611.

wife, “parvam uxorem,” on the other. At the end of his satirical sketch, he says “that one thing remained worthy of remark, that lately when a vacancy occurred in the sub-librarianship of the Bodleian, Fuller wrote to the University for the appointment, but it was refused on the plea that his writings would be forced upon the Library.” But whether he was a candidate or not, it seems, for some unexplained reason, that he had resigned his parochial charge at Waltham. Between the publication of his “Church History” and his presentation to the living of Cranford, and in the early part of the year 1658, he does not appear to have resided there, although “of Waltham” is usually appended to his name. “Vivit Londini,” says South. It is possible therefore that he was a candidate for the office, which was, as a matter of fact, vacant in 1657, when Henry Stubbe, M.A., Christ Church, was elected. Fuller’s great friend (Dr. Barlow) was principal librarian at the time, and to one so fond of books as our author was, to have been officially correlated with such a library as the Bodleian would have exactly suited his literary tastes and studious habits. Nor was he altogether a stranger at that Alma Mater, *i.e.*, to his Aunt Oxford, as he calls her.

An eligible living, however, soon fell to the lot of our Divine. We have already noticed Fuller’s intimacy with the Hon. George Berkeley, and for some time he had been acting as his Lordship’s chaplain, a nobleman, faithful to his convictions, and very active during the civil troubles on the side of the King. His amiable father had also been an ardent Royalist, and very kind to the suffering sequestered clergy in the West. Lloyd describes him, “Most children are notified by their parents, yet some fathers are made

eminent by their children, as Simon of Cyrene is known by this character, ‘the father of Alexander and Rufus’; and this honourable person by this happy remark that he was father to the Right Hon. George, Lord Berkeley, who hath been as bountiful to the Church of England and its suffering members of late (witness Dr. Pearson, Dr. Fuller, &c.), as his favourite ancestors were to the same Church and its devout members formerly: honest men in the worst of times finding him their Patron, and ingenious men in the best of times enjoying him, at once their encouragement and their example: being happy to a great degree in that ingenuity himself that he doth so much promote in others.”\* The elder nobleman died August 10th, 1658, and his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Pearson, it being subsequently published under the title *The Patriarchal Funeral*, 1658. The younger nobleman was a man of singular piety, of great virtue, very liberal, fond of men of letters, being a benefactor of Sion College, and one of the founders of the Royal Society. There must have been something most attractive to a man of Fuller’s turn of mind, and the profound friendship was most cordially reciprocated. His daughter Theophila married for her second husband that staunch churchman, and devout author of the “Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England,” Robert Nelson. And as an author his writings contain manifest traces of the influence of his favourite chaplain, whose very language he occasionally adopts.

It was this Lord Berkeley who had conceived such an affectionate admiration for his Chaplain, and who was

seated at the Manor House of Cranford St. John, Cranford, near Hounslow Heath, who offered Fuller the neighbouring Rectory of Cranford, with a view of placing him in this more immediate neighbourhood, and enjoying his frequent society. He was presented March 3, 1658, and Fuller speaks in terms of gratitude to the Baron for this piece of preferment in his *Worthies*, remarking that his Lordship had been "so signally bountiful in promoting these and all others of my weak endeavours that I deserve to be dumb if ever I forget to return him public thanks for the same."\* Lord Berkeley, who in 1679, was raised to be Viscount Dursley and Earl Berkeley, appears to have much appreciated the sterling worth of Fuller, who, in company with the celebrated Dr. Pearson (his successor at Eastcheap and author of the lectures on the Apostles' Creed), "had been many years happy in the knowledge of your Lordship."

The village of Cranford is situated in the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, being close to Hounslow, part of the Heath being in the parish. It is about a mile north of the main road to the west, the village being approached by an avenue of oaks. The name is derived from a ford over the river Crane, which existed in Fuller's days, and the neighbouring Heath was then notorious for its highwaymen, "great roads being the best rivers for robbers to fish in," as he quaintly remarks. It may be connected with this locality that Fuller relates the following anecdote. "A countryman was riding with an unknown traveller (who he conceived honest) over a dangerous plain. 'This place,' said he, 'is infamous for robbery: but for my own

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\* "Worthies," Gloucestershire, p. 366.

part, though often riding over it early and late, I never saw anything worse than myself.' 'In good time,' replied the other, and presently demanded his purse and robbed him."

Cranford Church, dedicated to St. Dunstan, is situated about a mile above the village, and is approached by a private road, which leads up to the Manor House. It is surrounded by trees, and is suggestive of calm repose. The fabric is small and irregular, and in the west-end is a square tower built of flint and stone, the upper part having been rebuilt since Fuller's day. It is certainly not attractive from an æsthetic or ecclesiastical standpoint.

The interior of the church is homely, and consists of nave and third pointed chancel, there being a window of three lights of that date in the south wall. Frequent repairs have been necessary, owing to the injury done to the edifice by the explosions of the neighbouring gunpowder magazine at Hounslow. On the south wall of the chancel are to be seen several monumental tablets erected to the memory of members of the Berkeley family, and on the walls a simpler tablet marks the place where "Fuller's" earth lies. The gross income of the present value of the living is returned in "Crockford" at £368, with house, and population 557.

The Rectory, called "Cranford Moat House," was one of two former manor houses, and went by the name of Cranford-le-Mote, and the other manor-house, called Cranford St. John, is now the present manorial residence. The former stood on a moated site not far from the church, in a north-easterly direction, a neighbouring wood taking its name therefrom, but it was pulled down in 1780, and no traces

of it remain. It became the residence of Sir James Fleetword after Fuller's time.

When then Fuller finally left Waltham, to the great regret of his dear parishioners, he took up his abode here again, in the country, within easy distance of London, but on the western side of the metropolis, instead of the eastern. But into whatever parish he entered, he quickly secured the respect and affection of his people committed to his charge, and the experience of Waltham was repeated at Cranford. His eulogist thus records the fact : “ How infinitely beloved he was there needed not to be added to those accumulations of respect he found everywhere, for fear especially of resuscitating the recent grief of those parishioners for his late lamented loss ” (“ Life,” p. 106).

It was in this rural retreat—how many of our great theological works have seen the light in a country parsonage, witness the case of the judicious Hooker, and saintly Herbert—that Fuller was residing when Dr. Peter Heylin made his spiteful attack on the *Church History* : and it was here that Fuller thought out and externalized his facile and happy reply, which he entitled *The Appeal of Injured Innocence*, which was in fact Fuller's *Apologia pro vita sua*. At first he hesitated about noticing it, and he was afraid it might interfere with his official duties as village pastor. “ I lacked leisure solemnly to refute his *Animadversions*, having at this time so much and various employment : the cow was well stocked with milk, thus praised by the poet Virgil, ‘ *Bis venit ad mulctrum, binos alit ubere fætos.*’ ”

“ She suckles two, yet doth not fail,  
Twice a day to come to the ‘ pail.’ ” \*

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\* “Appeal,” pt. I., c. iii.

“ But I justly feared who twice a Lord’s-Day do come to the pulpit (God knows my heart, I speak it not to ostentation) that I could not suckle my parish and the press, without starving or short-feeding of one: whereas the Animadvertor in his retired life, gives no other milk, than following his own private studies.”

Lord Berkeley’s mansion was formerly a small plain brick house, situated near the church, and not far from the Heath, and was greatly enlarged by Admiral Berkeley. It is surrounded by extensive grounds, thickly wooded, and its library contains copies of the “Worthies” (handsomely bound) and the “Holy State.” “In the Manor House,” says Mr. Russell, “still in the noble family of Berkeley is a portrait of Dr. Fuller, from which was copied the engraving prepared to his *Worthies*: and in the library are the *Worthies* and *Holy State*, the former very handsomely bound and probably presented to George Lord Berkeley by the Author’s son.”\* This oil-painting is the original of the sketch prefixed to Mr. Bailey’s “Life of Fuller,” which was obtained, as he says, “through the courtesy of Lord Fitz-Hardinge,” its present noble possessor. Mr. Bailey is of opinion that it was possibly to oblige his noble Patron that Fuller sat for this fine picture, soon after coming into residence at Cranford. It is the best comment on Fuller’s words, “He may be pretty, but not a proper person, who hath not bulk proportionable to his beauty,” and his appearance gives point to the reference made by contemporaries as to his person “The great Tom Fuller.”

Mr. Bailey has the following remarks on this subject,

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\* “Memorials,” p. 228.

“This portrait has generally been understood to be the original of the portrait engraved by Loggan, and prefixed to the *Worthies*, but a comparison of the two likenesses dispels the idea. The Berkeley likeness has more of Fuller’s ‘faire bulk,’ and there is a greater expression of animation about the features than appears in Loggan’s engraving. The latter exhibits the *fortiter in modo*: and a certain heaviness of features infects it with that ‘dulness’ which according to Dryden, was fatal to the name of ‘Tom.’ The “Worthies” portrait is that by which Fuller is best known: having been familiarised to his admirers by its appearance, in reduced forms, in Nichols’s edition of the *Worthies*, executed by Freeman: in the Pickering edition of Fuller (for which it was reduced by Dean): in Knight’s *Portrait Gallery*: in Nuttall’s edition of the *Worthies* (by Dean also), and in Howell’s edition of the *Thoughts*, the original engraving contained the inscription ‘Thomas Fuller.’ S.T.D., ætat 53, 1661,” and beneath were the verses :

“The graver here hath well thy Face designed,  
But no hand *Fuller* can express thy Mind:  
For that a Resurrection gives to those,  
Whom Silent Monuments did long enclose.”

The original has always been regarded as an excellent print. The engraver, who executed a great number of heads, is satirised in Dryden’s lines on vain poets :

“And in the front of all his senseless plays,  
Makes David Loggan crown his head with bays.”

Dibdin gives advice to would-be possessors of the *Worthies*: “Be sure that the head of ‘honest Tom,’ by Loggan, prefixed to the title, be not wanting.” Over it he becomes enthusiastic: “But the portrait—ay, there is the

rub. 'Tis a fine specimen of Loggan's bold burin. If my memory be not treacherous, Mr. Wilson has an isolated proof of it. Why was it unknown to Granger?"

Besides this portrait of the "Worthies" there is also one in the *Abel Redevivus*—the learned godly Divine and judicious Historian, Mr. Tho. Fuller, Ba. of Di—but the features appear too pointed, and the gravity of it is quite too austere. No one would detect the witty and humorous divine behind such a severe countenance. There is another portrait published in the Tegg-Nicholls reprints of Fuller's works, which are now all out of print, and most difficult to obtain, some indeed appear to be quite out of the market, or only to be picked up by the merest chance. There is also another portrait, which appeared with his anonymous life, but this a very rare work indeed. There are only two copies of the work in the British Museum that I have met with. This plate seems to have been hastily prepared, and there is no engraver's name, but enough is portrayed to show the humour of the subject, and though roughly done, that it is a real likeness. But any defects there may be in the engraving are more than made up by the sprightliness of the eulogist's word-portrait of our Divine, having "enlivened that Pourtraite" of him with some of "those natural graces which were unexpressible in him by the pencil: withal to show what a convenient habitation learning and virtue had chosen, in which nothing could be complained of and faulted, but that they took it for so short a term."

The biographer had evidently good opportunities for personally observing "the good Doctor and learned Divine," and he sketches in his word-picture from the

living model itself. Not unlikely there was a personal intimacy with the subject, and it is this which gives his narrative, though somewhat eulogistic at times, such a charm and vividness. One feels that the writer must have seen and known the original he eulogises, and this gives the special value to this interesting little brochure. It is principally from this word-painting, Ruskin-like in its fidelity—that preacher of the gospel of loveliness—together with the Loggan portrait of the “Worthies,” and the reduced one by Dean, that the writer’s sister painted the beautiful likeness of her Ancestor on ivory, which from the fact of the colouring, brings out more clearly the salient points of the face (which an engraving could not do), the rubicund countenance, the light curly hair, and the playful expression of humour and wit about the lips and eyes.

This is the Eulogist’s description : “ He was of a stature somewhat tall, exceeding the mean, with a proportionable bigness to become it, but no way inclining to corpulency ; of an exact straightness of the whole body, and a perfect symmetry in every part thereof. He was of a sanguine constitution, which beautified his face with a pleasant ruddiness, but of so grave and serious an aspect, that it awed and discountenanced the smiling attractions of that complexion. His head was adorned with a comely light-coloured hair, which was by nature exactly curled (an ornament enough of itself in this age, to denominate a handsome person, and wherefore all skill [and art is used], but not suffered to grow to any length unseeming his modesty and profession.”

“ His gait and walking was very upright and graceful, becoming his well-shapen bulk, approaching something

near to that we call majestical ; but that the Doctor was so well known to be void of any affectation or pride. Nay, so regardless was he of himself in his garb and raiment, in which no doubt his vanity would have appeared, as well as in his stately pace, that it was with some trouble to himself to be either neat or decent ; it mattered not for the outside, while he thought himself never too curious and nice in the dresses of his mind.

" Very careless also he was to seeming inurbanity in the modes of courtship and demeanour, deporting himself much according to the old English guise, which for its ease and simplicity, suited very well with the Doctor, whose time was designed for more elaborate business, and whose *motto* might have been sincerity." " As inobservant he was of persons, unless business with them or his concerns pointed them and adverted him. Seeing and discerning were two things : often in several places hath he met with gentlemen of his nearest and greatest acquaintance, at a full rencounter and stop, whom he hath endeavoured to pass by, not knowing, that is to say, not minding of them till rectified and recalled by their familiar compellations. This will not (it may be presumed) and justly cannot be imputed unto any indisposedness and unaptness of his nature, which was so far from rude and untractable, that it may be confidently averred he was the most complaisant person in the nation, as his converse and writings, with such a freedom of discourse and quick jocundity of style do sufficiently evince."\* It is no vain eulogy which his biographer gives his memory, when he describes him as

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\* "Life," pp. 66, 69.

“a perfect walking library”; and it is plain that he was as well versed in the study of mankind, as in the study of books.

We have now come to the year 1659, when the dawn of the Restoration was almost visible. At this time the Fuller family consisted of one Bishop (Thomas Fulwar, of Ardfert and Aghadoe), one Dean (William Fuller of Ely), one Doctor (the mysterious personage, whose identity has defied detection), two Bachelors of Divinity (Fuller himself and possibly his brother), and many Masters of Arts, of no contemptible condition. “Pardon reader (says Fuller in his “Appeal”) this digression done *se defendendo*.” It will be remembered that Fuller’s elder son John, who subsequently edited the “Worthies,” was studying at this time at Cambridge for his B.A. degree. There was also Dr. William Fuller, a great friend of Pepys, who had kept a school at Twickenham. He was made Dean of St. Patrick, 1660, and was created D.D. the same year, by virtue of the King’s letters to the University of Cambridge. In 1663, he was made Bishop of Limerick, and in 1667 was translated to the Bishopric of Lincoln, which he held till 1675, when he died at Kensington, April 27th, and was buried in his own Cathedral. The Fuller family from the first have given, as a rule, its members to the learned professions, some to medicine, and some to law, but most of all to theology, and have been conspicuous at all times for their enthusiastic devotion to the Church and Faith of their Fathers, and thorough loyalty to the Throne, following in the steps of Fuller himself “that stout Church and King man.”

## CHAPTER XIII.

FULLER'S APPEAL OF INJURED INNOCENCE (I) 1659.

(Apologia pro vitâ suâ).

"To this (Dr. Heylin's Animadversion) the *Doctor* replied by a Book styled *The Appeal of Injured Innocence to the Learned and Ingenuous Reader*, being a very modest but a most rational and polite defence to the aforesaid exceptions against that elaborate piece. The *dispute and controversie* was soon ended; the Oyl the *Doctor* bestowed on his labour being poured into the fresh wound of this quarrel, and did so assuage the heat of the *contest*, that it was soon healed with a perfect amicable closure and mutual endearment."--(Anonymous Life, p. 47.)

E come now to consider a work of Fuller's not much known, and, indeed, most difficult to procure, but very valuable, when our Author was thrown back on the defensive. It seems a pity that so much of his valuable time should have been, comparatively speaking, frittered away on a work of this character, which might have been more profitably spent on some work of divinity, to which Fuller meant to devote himself entirely after the completion of his *Worthies of England*. But a city set on a hill cannot be hid, and our Author was too conspicuous a mark, and too voluminous a writer, to escape the shafts of the envious and tooth of the detractor. "Oh! that mine enemy would write a book," said one of old. Like other great men, he was forced to put out his "Apologia pro vitâ suâ." His literary

antagonist, Dr. Peter Heylin, had assailed him again and again, but the attack on our Author's *Church History*, in his *Animadversions*, compelled him to take up the gauntlet the adversary had thrown down. The result was the *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, a very happily chosen title, and in it Fuller answers Heylin step by step, *seriatim* and *pedetentim*. The two antagonists were old practised literary gladiators, and had not only been long matched as such, but were worthy of each other's steel.

The "Appeal" is sometimes bound up with the *Church History* and "University of Cambridge" and "Waltham Abbey" as a sort of *thirteenth* book, the "University" being reckoned the twelfth. The entire title of it is "The Appeal of Injured Innocence, unto the religious, learned, and ingenuous Reader: in a controversy between the Animadvertisor, Dr. Peter Heylin, and the Author, Thomas Fuller." "It issued from the press," says Mr. Nichols, the industrious editor of some of the reprints of Fuller's works, in his preface to the *Church History*, in the year prior to the Restoration: and in it the multifarious acquirements and wonderful intellectual resources of Fuller are displayed to better advantage perhaps than in any of his former productions. Highly as I am imputed to venerate his antagonist, Peter Heylin, that staunch and sturdy Royalist, I feel no hesitation in pronouncing Fuller the victor in this contest, not only from the general justness of his cause, but also for that which exalts him as a man and a Christian--his playful wit, his ingenuous candour, almost unfailing good humour, and remarkable moderation. The "Appeal" is known to very few of our ecclesiastical historians, though as a regular and clever reply to Heylin's severe *Examen*

*Historicum* it incidentally affords a multitude of curious historical illustrations, especially in reference to those eventful times, in which both of them had been sufferers.”\*

Noticing Bishop Nicholson’s satirical expressions as to our Author, to which Mr. Nichols says, “I cannot subscribe: but in passing I take particular exception against that which represents Fuller eager in his pursuit of drollery, without staying to inquire whether a pretty story have any foundation in truth or not. On the contrary, I have uniformly found him to be tenacious in ascertaining the *Truth* of the facts he narrates, and pouring floods of ridicule upon such as were deficient in that essential qualification.” Mr. Nichols also appends the following foot-note: “The same levity of expression and indiscriminate dashes of wit were pointed out to him by Heylin as culpable blemishes; who, in this respect, was himself an offender in kind, though not in degree. But Fuller seems to have been so utterly unconscious of any exuberance of broad humour within his breast as to repel the charge, and challenge his adversary in the following style: ‘But let him at leisure produce the most light and ludicrous story in all my book, and here I stand ready to parallel it with as light (I will not say in the *Animadvertor* but) in as grave authors as ever put pen to paper.’” (“Appeal of Injured Innocence.”†)

In the preface to the third edition, Mr. Nichols, who did his work well, which he thoroughly understood, and whose judgment was as critical as his industry was unremitting, still further observes: “It will be found to contain many

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\* Editor’s Preface to Fuller’s “Church History,” p. 12.

† Editor’s Preface, p. 13.

additional notes and a vast number of references to that very curious perpetual commentary on the ‘Church History,’ Fuller’s ‘Appeal of Injured Innocence,’ which embraces almost every topic within the range of human disquisition, from the most sublime mysteries of the Christian Religion, and the great antiquity of the Hebrew and Welsh languages, down to the ‘Tale of a Tub,’ and criticisms on Shakespeare’s perversion of Sir John Falstaff. But the value of the ‘Appeal’ cannot be too highly estimated, when it is known to contain the discordant views of two eminent churchmen on most momentous events, in which they had themselves been actors, or of which they had been thoughtful spectators, and on principles and motives the temperate discussion of which will always be interesting to the sincere lover of truth, but which must be considered of paramount importance to us in these days, when many of the same arguments are reproduced and brought into fresh collision.”\*

Dr. Peter Heylin, the animadverter of Fuller’s “Church History,” was a staunch Royalist and pronounced High-churchman, a friend of Laud’s, with whose school of thought he most heartily synchronized. He seems to have suffered a good deal in those trying times for churchmen, and after the surrender of Oxford, to have had no settled dwelling place. “In pity to his necessity he found a hearty entertainment among his friends of the Royal party, at whose table he was fed.” At last he settled down at Lacie’s Court, near Abingdon, that he might be near Oxford to take advantage of the Bodleian Library, for he was

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\* Editor’s Preface, p. 16.

devoted to literature, and his own stock of books was small. He does not seem to have had a cure of souls, as his opinions were too pronounced in that age of anti-church and ~~unpopularity~~ iconoclastic feeling to permit the open exercise of his clerical profession. But in his own house he said the Liturgy of the Church, and encouraged the parish priest of Abingdon to use the Book of Common Prayer, although there were heavy penalties for doing so. It is a pity he was led into the stormy paths of polemical controversy, to which a certain irritability of temperament, and acerbity with regard to the times, incited him. As it is allowed by friends and foes alike that he wielded an able and agreeable pen, and some of his lighter works are deservedly admired. But, as is well known, there is no bitterness like the odium theologicum.

The introduction to his Cosmography is a particularly fresh and interesting production, and in reference to that work he has well said, "As I have taken upon myself the part of an historian, so I have not forgotten that I am an *Englishman*, and which is somewhat more, a *Churchman*." He says that it would be no small consolation to him, during the troubles of those times, if his labours proved themselves useful, or added to the well-being of the English Nation. But he deplored the neglect shown to his lucubrations, and bitterly complains of the unhandsome entertainment which my endeavours for the publick had lately met with. Little encouragement to write books, God wot, for others, when I could not be permitted to enjoy my own." His work, however, came subsequently more into fashion, for it was the mark of a student in Prior's time, that he

" From breakfast reads till twelve o'clock  
Burnet and Heylin, Hobbes and Locke."

Heylin held strong views and maintained them firmly, and he had a firm grasp of Church principles, though unfortunately, but most unfairly, he was credited, like his master and friend Laud, with Roman proclivities. He was not, however, very discreet, and some of his own statements fell under the animadversion of his own party.

It would appear that Fuller and Heylin were on very good terms at the outset of their respective careers, for in one of his writings Fuller calls him "my honoured friend," and referring to his "History of Charles I., " he calls it a "worthy work." But there was no personal animosity between them, and Fuller was too sound a Churchman, and too loyal to the Faith of the old historical Church of the Country, to quarrel with the more pronounced and uncompromising platform of his brother High-Churchman. This is how the matter stood between them : "The party whom I had to deal with," Heylin had said, "is so much a stranger to me that he is neither *beneficio* *nec injuria notus*, and therefore no particular respects have moved me to the making of these animadversions, which I have writ (without relation to his person)." "I am glad," Fuller returns, in answer to this "'self-denying Ordinance,' to hear this passage from the Animadvertor, that 'I never did him any injury,' the rather because some of my friends have charged me for provoking his pen against me. And though I pleaded that neither in thought, word, or deed, I ever did him any wrong, I hardly prevailed with them for belief: and now the Animadvertor hath cleared me that I *never* did any injury unto him. Would I could say the same to him, that he never did me any injury ! However, as a Christian, I here fully and freely forgive him

and will endeavour, as a scholar, so to defend myself against his injury that, God willing, it shall not shake my contentment, without relation to my person!" Let the reader be judge hereof. Indeed *Thomas* hath been well used by him, but *Fuller* hath soundly felt his displeasure.

Another source of disagreement among the two men may have been the freedom of Fuller's writing, and especially our Author's piquant remarks on a subject which touched Heylin to the quick. Heylin was proud of his Authorship of the "*History of that most famous Saint and Soldier of Christ Jesus, St. George, of Cappadocia, asserted from the fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and opposition of the Present*, 1631. Fuller's jaunty words in reference to that Saint would have stung Heylin to the quick : when speaking of St. Equitius, "pretended founder of our first English monks," he not very reverently adds, "*Brother, if they will, to St. George on horseback*, he was never father of any monks in England." This was too much for Heylin, who had "*substantially asserted*" and "*evidenced*" the good deeds of that Saint, and he replied, "*I would have him know how poorly soever he thinks of St. George on horseback*, that there hath been more said of him, his noble birth, achievements, with his death and martyrdom, than all the friends our Author hath, will, or can justly say in defence of our present *History*."<sup>\*</sup> In his reply, Fuller says that Heylin had looked so long on St. George that he had forgotten Solomon (*Proverbs xxvii. 2*), adding, "*I am yet to seek what service he hath done to the Church of God so busy to make 'Down Sabbath,*

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\* "Appeal," pt. ii., 477.

and ‘up St. George,’” alluding to Heylin’s Anti-Sabbatarian views. Fuller had run foul of this subject before in his *Pisgah*, in speaking of Lydda, near Joppa, “where St. George is reported to have been beheaded,” and drew a parallel between *Perseus* in Joppa, who freed a king’s daughter (Andromeda) from the rage of a sea-monster, and *St. George* in Lydda, who rescued from a fiery dragon the king of Lybia’s daughter. And this is Fuller’s comment thereon: “It is a pity these two stories should be parted asunder, which will both in full latitude be believed together. Hard to say whether nearer the two places, or two reports. He that considers the resemblance of the complexions will conclude Fancy the father, Credulity the mother of both.”\*

Another topic of contention would have been the merits and antiquity of their respective Universities. While professing great regard to his aunt *Oxford*, he unwittingly betrays his leaning towards his own *alma mater*. He refers to the subject in his *Church History* (ii., 74), and expresses an apprehension lest some might consider it an “impertinency, scarcely coming within the Churchyard thereof.” He further cautions his readers not to imagine that his “extraction from Cambridge” would betray him to partiality to my mother, who desire in this difference to be, like Melchisedec, ἀγενέάλογος, without descent, only to be directed by the truth.” “And in quitting the subject, he hopes envy may be changed into emulation,” contending by laudable means, which shall surpass others in their serviceableness to God, the Church, and Commonwealth;

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\* Book ii. 210.

that so *commencing* in Piety and *proceeding* in Learning, may agree against their two general adversaries—ignorance and profaneness.” And it was in a similar spirit he reverts to the subject in the preface to the “History of Cambridge,” but he drops an occasional incautious remark, which was enough to pique a man of Heylin’s sensitive temperament, and which he took every opportunity of resenting, when the opportunity, which he was on the look out for, presented itself.

Fuller never lost sight of the controversial spirit of the age, and it was this which dictated some of his references to caution and polite explanations to “the ingenuous reader.” “Seamen observe,” says he, as he approached the completion of his Book, “that the water is more troubled the nearer they draw on to land, because broken by repercussion from the shore : I am sensible of the same danger the nearer I approach our times.” He pretends that he had particular fear of that pen-and-ink busybody, Dr. Heylin, “so well practised in printing,” for he says, among those who had fallen under Heylin’s lash up to that time (1659), “fitted with antidotes,” as the latter put it, were “Mr. Calvin, Archbishop Williams, Archbishop Ussher, Dr. Hackwell, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Bernard, Mr. Le Strange, Mr. Sanderson, and my unworthy self ;—no shame to follow in the rear after such a van and main-battle.”\*

The following are some of the reasons why Fuller hopes and prays that he may never be written at by Heylin, and throws some light on his character: “(1) I know him a man of able parts and learning ; God sanctify both to His

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\* “Appeal,” pp. 1, 20.

glory and the Church's good. (2) Of an eager spirit, with him of whom it was said, *Quicquid voluit, valde voluit.* (3) Of a tart and smart style, endeavouring to down with all which stood betwixt him and his opinion. (4) Not over dutiful in his language to the Fathers of the Church (what then may children expect from him?) if contrary in judgment to him. Lastly and chiefly, one, the edge of whose keenness is not taken off by the death of his adversary: witness his writing against the Archbishop of York and Armagh (died in 1656). The fable tells me that the tanner was the worst of all masters to his cattle, as who would not only load them soundly whilst living, but tan their hides when dead: and none could blame one if unwilling to exasperate such a pen, which, if surviving, would prosecute his adversary into his grave. The premises made me, though not servilely fearful (which, I praise God, I am not of any writer), yet generally cautious not to give him any personal provocation, knowing that both our pens were long, the world was wide enough for them without crossing each other.”\*

Fuller also gives another reason why he hoped to escape the criticisms of this dreaded censor. It appears that some one had called upon him, whom he supposed was sent by Dr. Heylin, and made the remark, that if it had not been for the Doctor's (Heylin's) blindness, he would have been on Fuller's bones before. To which our Author sent back the ready reply, that, whereas he regretted the cause, he was glad for its effect—his own quiet. Heylin, however, denied ever having sent the messenger, nor was he blind

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\* “Appeal,” pp. 2, 286.

then, that sad affliction having subsequently befallen him. For many months our Author heard no more of his antagonist, and "being a lover of peace, and a seeker of it," he began to take hope that he should have no more trouble on that score, and be spared any further censures; more especially as there was this bond of union between them, that they were both ardent Royalists (*Arcades ambo*), and had not only been devoted to the late King's cause, but had both been fellow-sufferers owing to the same heroic and chivalrous devotion. This fact (to say nothing of their being brother clergymen) should have brought them together, not sundered them. "Only thus happy," adds Fuller, "I was in my very unhappiness—to *leave* what was *taken away* from the rest of my brethren."

Dr. Heylin took some three or four years in preparing his censures which he was about to hurl at the devoted head of our painful Author. Fuller, however, was determined to make it up with his antagonist, if only he could do so, and was resolute in his advance towards a reconciliation, seeking peace and pursuing it. A curious anecdote is told of the good Doctor's attempt to make peace, if it were possible. Catching sight of Heylin going down Fleet Street, he followed him home to his lodging, over a stationer's shop, opposite St. Dunstan's Church, and called, sending up his card by his servant. The servant brought down the rebuff, "The Doctor is very busy, and cannot be spoken with." "Thus," concludes Fuller, "my treaty for peace taking no effect, I armed myself with patience, and quietly expected the coming forth of his book against me." This appeared in 1659, being entitled *Examen Historicum, or a Discovery and Examination of the*

*Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories in 8vo.* Heylin divided his work into two parts, the first of which he devoted to Fuller, being “necessary animadversions” on the *History*, “for vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the injured Clergy.” Some histories of the Stuarts, by William Sanderson, were criticised in the second part; prepared in the year 1656.

Heylin gives us in the appendix reasons for the late appearance of his *Examen*—which had been prepared and fitted for the Press before Michaelmas, 1657—averring that he had heard that some Cambridge man, “who had more knowledge of the author than I can pretend to,” was about to write an answer to the “Church History,” referring also to a report which had reached his ears that Fuller had some intention of putting out an amended or expurgated edition. “The reports,” he goes on to say, “being thought at last to have something in them of design or artifice to stave off the business, I was solicited with greater importunity to publish the foregoing animadversions than I was at first to undertake them.” This delay was favourable to Heylin, for not only did it give him another opportunity of replying to Sanderson, but it also brought him further assistance from an unexpected quarter, the celebrated Dr. Cosin, whose name is so intimately connected with the Rubrics in the Prayer-book in general, and the well-known Ornaments Rubric in particular. Dr. Cosin’s apology was inserted in Heylin’s *Examen*, so that it almost looked as if more than one brain had been engaged on its authorship. In one place Fuller detected his adversary quoting from his own *Cosmographie*, and accused him of “bad heraldry” in laying metal upon metal; but Heylin took refuge from

this in the assertion that he had intended at first to publish his strictures anonymously.

From Heylin's "necessary Introduction" we may collate the tone and tenor of his criticisms. First section : He begins his strictures at the title, which was not wide enough. It was more of a Church *rhapsody* than a Church *history*, and the old title of *Fuller's Miscellanies* would have been preferable. "Such and so many are the impertinences as to matters of historical nature, more as to matters of the Church, that without them this volume would have been brought to a narrower compass, if it had taken up any room at all." Second : The title pages and dedications, next glanced at, are condemned as "a new way never travelled by any till he found it out: and such wherein he is not like to find many followers, though the way be opened." Third : The heraldry, blazons of arms, descents of noble families, catalogues of warlike adventures, are placed "in the next rank of impertinences." They are "inserted only for the ostentation of his skill in heraldry." Fourth : The epitaphs and scraps of poetry, which are scattered throughout the volume, took the reader's attention from graver parts, and made the book like a *Church Romance*. Fifth : Referring to Fuller's "raking into the channels of old Popish legends," he says, "Above all things commend me to his merry tales and scraps of *trencher-jests* frequently interlaced in all parts of the history; which, if abstracted from the rest, and put into a book by themselves, might very well be served up as a second course to the *Banquet of Jests*, a supplement to the old book, entitled 'Wits, Fits, and Fancies; or an Additional Century to the Old *Hundred Merry Tales*,' so long since extant. But standing as they

do, they neither do become the gravity of a Church historian, nor are consistent with the nature of a sober argument." Sixth: The numerous digressions are lastly noticed by the censor, such as the antiquity of the University of Cambridge, "built on as weak authority as the monkish legends."

When "the extravagances and impertinences" had been disposed of, Heylin supposed nothing would remain "but a mere Church history," which is not the case. Seventh: There was in the book too much of the State and too little of the Church; and certain convocations and Church passages were omitted. Eighth: Heylin detects "a continual vein of Puritanism" in Fuller's moderation, which especially appears to have annoyed him. The opinions both of Wickliffe and Calvin were too highly favoured, he thought; the bishops too coldly defended; the Non-conformists were in certain cases well spoken of; and the Fathers of the Church, and "the conformable children of it," but coldly mentioned. Hence he charges Fuller with partiality, as one who "constantly declares himself in favour of those who have either separated from the Church or appeared against it." Nor did the critic at all approve of Fuller's related attitude to the "powers that be" during the last two reigns, and he liberates his soul in the following strain: "Reduced into practice, as they easily may be, such opinions not only overthrow the whole power of the Church as it stands constituted and established by the laws of the land, but lay a probable foundation for the like disturbance in the Civil State."

These censures the censor managed to spin out to the large number of three hundred and fifty, which are termed

in one place “*Ani-mad-versions*,” where “Heylin had madly verted, inverted, perverted,” a single sentence. Some of the exceptions are repeated, which gave Fuller an opportunity of saying, that “though hollow within,” he had contrived to swell it out to a “saleable bigness.” In Fuller’s reply he gives his animadvertisor’s own words, for the sake of fairness, in their entirety, in spite of their verbosity, which contrasted unfavourably with Fuller’s brevity. This was all very tiresome; and Fuller says at the end of the book, “Being weary with this long contest. I resolve for a while to take my natural rest, and will quietly sleep until jogged by that which particularly concerneth me.” After the platitudes of some long argument, Fuller merely adds the words, “Dormit securus.” Speaking in another place, he says, “Stylus æquabilis! Here is a continued *Champion*, large level, and fair flat of fourteen untruths at least, without any elevation of truth interposed.”\*

Fuller intimates that one of the stimulating influences which made Heylin take up his parable against him was “one letter from *Regina Pecunia* was most prevalent with him. Witness this his book offered to, and refused by, some stationers, because, on his high terms, they could not make a saving bargain to themselves.” In his *Letter Combate* Heylin makes us cognisant of some of his experiences with “stationers.” “From the printing of these papers,” says he, “so far am I from making any capitulation, that it remains wholly in the ingenuity of the stationer to deal with me in it as he pleases; so that I scribble for

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\* Part iii. (607-610); iii. 18 (577); i. 45 (337).

the most part as some cats kill mice, rather to find myself some recreation than to satisfy hunger. And though I have presented as many of the said books, and my large *Cosmographies*, within seven years past, as did amount at least unto twenty pounds, I never received the value of a single farthing." And again he adds: "I thank God I never was reduced to such a necessity as to make the writing of books any part of the trade which I was to live by; for if I had, I should have found it such an hungry subsistence, as would not have given a chick its breakfast when first out of the shell."\*

The *Appeal* concludes with an appendix touching a difference between Dr. Cosin, the master of Peterhouse, and Fuller. In the *Church History*, Fuller had inserted the impeachment article which had been drawn up against Cosin—then a prebendary of Durham, and a beneficed clergyman of the Diocese. When the *Church History* appeared, Cosin was one of the exiles on the Continent, following the fortunes of the ex-royal family, and he felt much aggrieved that "an old malicious accusation," which had been disproved in the House of Lords, should be raked up to his discredit, and that by a brother clergyman. The matter is referred to in a letter to Wm. Sancroft, by G. Davenport, August 6th, 1656.

"Sir,—Yours of July 16th I received about a week since, and deferred to trouble you with another till this time because of Mr. Beaumont's absence. I heard of Mr. R. G. welfare in a Ire. from D. C. (Dr. Cosin), he is gone from thence with Sr. Ed. Mansell towds. Sion: and God go wth. him. . . . He

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\* Pp. 329, 331.

is very angry at Mr. Fuller, and will let him know how much he is injured by him, for he purposeth to print his answer to ye articles against him in ye Lds. House.

Your affectionate friend and Servant,

D. G. GEO. DAVENPORT."

This Mr. Davenport was a mutual friend of Dr. Cosin and Fuller, and he lost no time in explaining to the latter the injured feeling of the former.

Whereupon Fuller hastened to make the amende honorable to Cosin, telling him that he must have followed an exparte statement, and assuring him that he would put it all right in the next edition of his *Church History* or the *Worthies*, having overlooked his reply, and purgation in the House of Lords. Next year Mons. Daillé,—“one of the greatest account and the best deserts amongst the reformed Churchmen of France,” as Heylin says, and whose arguments in his “Right use of the Fathers,” are so successfully demolished in the late Professor Blunt’s (Margaret Professor of Theology in the University of Cambridge) lectures on the Early Fathers—likewise remonstrated with Fuller. Dr. Cosin in his letter to Heylin’s *Examen* (1658) refers to the letter which he had received from Fuller more than a year before. In a letter to Barwick (1659), Hyde, the Chancellor, takes a very sensible view of the differences which had arisen between the two clergymen: “I pray tell me whether my lord of Ely (Wrenn) doth not think that my very good friend, Dr. Cosin, hath proceeded farther than he needed to have done upon any provocation Mr. Fuller could have given him.” Fuller’s very candid apology to Dr. Cosin will be found in his *Worthies* of Durham; so our Author was as good as

his word. Cosin, as is well known, was at the time of the Restoration reinstated as Dean of Peterborough, and subsequently was consecrated Bishop of Durham, one of whose “chief episcopal ornaments he has ever been and rightly considered.”

For some time our Author debated whether he should reply to the cavils of Dr. Peter Heylin or not. In the third chapter of the first part he says, “That after serious debate the Author found himself necessitated to make this Appeal in his own just Vindication.” “Having perused the book of the *Animadvertor* against me, it bare a strong debate within me: Whether I should pass it over in *silence*, or return an answer unto him, and arguments on both sides presented themselves unto me. *Silence* seemed best, because I *lacked leisure* solemnly to confute his *Animadversions*, having at, this time so much and varied, *Employment*.” The Cow was well *stocked* with *milk*, thus praised by the *Poet* :—

“Bis venit ad mulctrum binos alit ubere fœtus”  
 “She suckles two, but doth not fail  
 Twice a day to come to the ‘Pail.’”

But I justly feared, who twice on *Lord’s Day* do come to the *Pulpit* (God knows my heart, I speak it not to *ostentation*) that I could not *suckle* my *Parish* and the *Press*, without *starving* or *short-feeding* of one: whereas the *Animadvertor* in his retired life gives *no other milk* than following his own *private studies*.” He also considered that it was the “second blow that makes the fray,” as well as our Saviour’s counsel, as to turning the other cheek to the

smiter; but he did not forget that some *Divines* make this *precept temporary* (as a *Swaddling Cloak* to the *Church* whiles in the *Infancy* thereof, under *Persecution*), yet others make it alwaies obligatory and of perpetual continuance.”\* On the other side a *Definition* came seasonably to his mind —the *distinction* between “*righting* and *revenging* himself,” the latter belonging to God, but the former to man. Further he said, “I called to mind, how in our *Common Law, Mutes* at the bar, who would plead to the Indictment, are adjudged *guilty*, and therefore justly suspected I should, from my *silence*, be concluded *cast in the Court of Religion and Learning*, for such faults and errors as the *Animadvertisor* hath charged on me. But most of all it moved me that *Ministers of God’s Word and Sacraments* ought to vindicate their credit, that so they may be the more *effectual factors* for God’s *glory* in their *vocation*. And in the same proportion (instanced from our Saviour’s miracle of healing the man with the withered hand) *not plastering* is *killing* of one’s wounded credit, and so, consequently, I should be *Felo de Se*, and by my *sinful silence* be the wilful murderer of my own reputation.” “These last reasons did preponderate with me: and I resolved on two things, to return a *plain, full, and speedy answer*: and to refrain from all railing, which is a *sick wit* (if not the *Sickness of Wit*), and though, perchance, I may have something *tart* to quicken the appetite of the *reader*, yet nothing *bitter* against the *credit* of the *Animadvertisor*.† This, my answer is here entituled: the *Appeal unto the religious, learned, and ingenuous*. But before

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\* “*Appeal*,” pt. I., c. iii.

† “*Appeal*,” pt. I., c. iii.

I close with the *Animadvertor comminus, hand to hand, let us first eminus*, try it at *Distance* and entertain the *Reader* (to his *profit* and *pleasure* I hope) with my *general defence*, before I proceed to answer each particular."

The Author for these reasons determined on a reply, and he gives the full title in these words : "The Appeal of Injured Innocence, unto the religious, learned, and ingenuous Reader, in a controversie betwixt the Animadvertor, Dr. Peter Heylin, and the Author, Thomas Fuller." The title page has two quotations, from the Scriptures and the Classics (Kings v. 7); "See how he seeketh a quarrel against me." Terent in Eunicho Responsum non dictum est, quia læsit prior. It was printed at London by W. Godbid, and sold by John Williams at the Crown, in St. Paul's Church-yard (1659). The *Appeal* consists of three parts, each with a separate pagination, and in the first part there are four chapters of fourteen pages on the general reply, before he begins his particular one, which reaches fifty-eight more. The second book which forms the second part is "of the Conversion of the Saxons, and that which followed thereupon till the Norman Conquest," and consists of one hundred and one pages. The third part (eleventh book) deals with the reign of King Charles, and contains eighty-one pages. At the close of the work there are four epistles ; (1) to the Reverend and his worthy friend, Dr. John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough ; (2) to the religious, learned, and ingenuous reader, dated from Cranford Moate House ; (3) to my loving friend, Dr. Peter Heylin ; and (4) to Dr. Cornelius Burges, the notorious author of "No Sacrilege, No Sin in the Purchase of Bishops' Lands," who spoke contemptuously of Fuller in this year (1659).

Fuller dedicated his "Appeal" to the Right Honourable George Berkeley, and Berkeley, Mowbray, Segrave, and Bruce, my most bountiful and exalted patron (*i.e.* of Cranford Rectory). "My *Church History*," he says, "was so far from *Prostituting* herself to *Mercenary Embraces*, she did not at all espouse any *Particular Interest*, but kept herself a *Virgin*. However, a *Dragon* is risen up with much *fierceness* and *fury*, threatening this my *Virgin's* destruction. Your name is *George*, and for you it is as *easie* as *Honourable* to *protect* her from *violence*. If any material *falschood* or *forgery* be found in my *book*, let Liar be branded in my face. But oh! suffer not my *Injured Innocence* to be *over born* in such things, which I have *truly*, *clearly*, and *warily* written. Thus shall you encourage (leaving off such *controversial deviations* from my calling) to Preach and to perform in my *ministerial function* somewhat worthy of the honour to be, your Lordships most obliged Servant and Chaplain, Thomas Fuller." This dedicatory epistle is dated from Fuller's new official residence as Rector of Cranford, Middlesex, eight miles north of Hampton Court, "Cranford, Moat-house, March 21st."

The first part commences with sixteen chapters, of which the following are the principal headings:—Chapter "(i.) That it is impossible for the Pen of any Historian writing in (as ours) a divided age, to please all Parties, and how easie it is to cavil at any author. (ii.) Why the author desired and hoped never to come under the pen of the Animad-vertor in a controversial difference. (iii.) That after serious debate the author found himself necessitated to make the Appeal in his own just vindication. (iv.) The author's first general answer taken from his title page and word

endeavoured. (v.) The second general answer, that many, especially *Memory-mistakes* and *Pen-slips* must be expected in a great volume. (vi.) The third general answer, that in entire stories of impregnable truth it is facile with one to cavill with some colour at dismembered passages therein. (vii.) The fourth general answer: the favour of course is indulged to the first (at least perfect edition) of books. (viii.) That it is no shame for any man to confess (when convinced thereof) and amend an error in his judgment. (ix.) The prelial mistakes, in defiance of all care, will escape in the best corrected book. (x.) That an author charging his margin with his author is thereby himself discharged. (xii.) That many of the Animadvertor's notes are only additional, not opposite, to what I have written, and that all things omitted in an History are not defects. (xii.) That the author designed unto himself no Party-pleasing in writing his *Church History*. (xiii.) What good the Animadvertor might but would not doe: and what good, by God's goodness, he herein hath not done unto the author. (xiv.) And the last general answer is, that the author is unjustly charged by the Animadvertor for being agreeable to the times. And how far forth such agreeableness is consistent with Christian prudence."

Fuller's "Appeal" is, as we stated before, divided into two principal divisions, the General and Particular. The General is divided into fourteen chapters, the chief heads of which we have given the summary. In these he deals with a general reply to Heylin's Examen "at a distance," so to speak, and then he closes therein "hand in hand" in the particular, following Heylin's animadversions seriatim. In the fourth chapter he thus discusses the word *Endeavour*, which

he had used in the Title-page of his “Church History.” “These may be ranked into three forms, of *Intenders* *Endeavourers*, and *Performers*. *Intenders* are the first and *lowest* form, yet so far *favoured* by some Papists that they maintain that a good intention, though embracing ill means, make a good action. *Performers* are the *third* and *highest* rank, to which my thoughts dare not aspire, but leave this *upper room empty* to be filled by men of better *parts* and *ability*. The middle *form* consists of *endeavourers*, amongst whom I took my station in the *title-page* of my book, the Church History of Britain, endeavoured by Thomas Fuller. And as I did not *hope* that any *courteous reader* would call me up *higher*, so I did not fear that any *caviller* thereat could *cast* me lower, but that I might still peaceably possess the place of an *endeavourer*.

“For though I fall short of that which I desire and strive to perform, I did neither belie myself nor deceive the reader, who neither was the first, nor shall be last, of whom it is truly said *magnis excidit ausis*, the fate of many my betters who have undertook to compass high and hard matters. The premises encouraged me to undertake my *Church History*, wherein, if I had not done what the *Reader* expected, let him consider with himself whether I be cast with the *verdict* of the *ingenuous*, for *laying mine own action too high* have not *farced* the first page of my book, like a *mountebank’s bill*, pretending no higher than to *endeavour*. ”\*

Speaking of Memory-mistakes, our Author says, “It is the *advantage* of a *small book* that the *author’s eye* may in a manner be *incumbent* at once over it all, from the beginning

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\* “Appeal,” p. 4.

to the end thereof, a cause why they may be more exactly corrected. A *garden* hard by one's house is easier *weeded* and *trimmed* than a *field* lying at some distance. *Books* which swell to a great *volume* be spun with so even a *thread*, but will run courser here and there, yea than *knots* in them sometimes, whereof the *author* is as sensible as the *reader*, as the faults in *children* are not soon found in them by their own *father* as by strangers. Thus the poet: *verum opere longo fas est obrepere somnum.* As for Memory-mistakes, which are not the *sleeping* but the *winking* of an author, they are so far from overthrowing the credit of any book, as a *speck* (not *paring-deep*) in the *rind* of an *apple* is from proving of the same rotten to the core, yet there want not learned writers (whom I need not name) of the opinion that even the *instrumental pen-men* of Scripture might commit ἀμαρτήματα μνημονικά though open that window to *profaneness*, and it will be in vain to *shut* any *dores*. Let *God be true, and every man a liar.* Therefore I mention their judgments to this purpose to show that *Memory-mistakes* have not been counted such *hainous* matters, but *venial* in their own *nature*, are not only *finding* but *deserving* pardon.

"I confess when such mistakes become common and customary in an author they mar the credit of his book, and intolerably abuse the reader. Nothing is lighter in itself than a *single crumb of sand*, yet many of them put together are the heaviest of bodily burden. *Heavier than the sand in the sea.* What is slight in itself, if numerous, will become *ponderous*, but I hope that *Memory-mistakes and Pen-slips* in my book will not be found so frequent; and desire the *benefit* of this *plea* to be allowed me but *four times* in my

answer to the *Animadvertor*—a number low enough, I hope, for the ingenuous reader to grant, though perchance *too high* for me to request."

Fuller says that many of the *Animadvertor*'s notes are only additional. "Whoso beholdeth the several places of my book, noted on by the *Animadvertor*, hath cause, at the first blush, to conclude my *Church History* very *erroneous* and *full of faults*, out of which so *big a bundle of mistakes* have been collected; but upon serious perusal of their notes, it will appear that a *third part* of them at the least, are merely *additional*, not *opposite* to what I have written, so that they render my Book not for *Truth* the *less*, but for *Bulk* the greater. Herein he seemeth like unto those *Builders*, who either wanting *materials* to erect an *intire house*, or fearing so *frail* and *feeble* a *Fabrick* will not stand by itself, run it along the side-walls of another house, whereby they not only save *timber*, but gain strength to their *new edifice*. The *Animadvertor* had a mind to communicate some new *notions* he had to the world, but he found them not *many* and *weighty* enough to fill a just *book for sale*, whereupon he resolves to *range* his *notions* against my *Church History*, that so partly *carping thereat*, and partly adding thereto, he might betwixt both make up a book *competent for sale*.

"Hence it is that sometimes, not liking my *language* (as not *proper* and *expressive* enough), he substituted his *own*, with *little* or *no variation of matter*, and *sometimes* adds new passages, some whereof I could formerly have inserted, but because I perceived my book (as the reader is sensible by the price thereof) grown already to too great a volume."

Turning the tables on the Doctor, he concludes: "If Dr.

Heylin hath done all things in his *Geography*, he hath given a *writ of ease* for ever to Posterity, who may despair to meet more of that matter. All who hereafter shall write a *new book of Geography* must also find out a *new world* with *Columbus*, as anticipated by the Doctor, having formally completed all on that subject."

Explaining that he was no party-pleaser in writing his book, Fuller boldly avows his doctrinal standpoint. "I do freely declare myself that I, in *writing my Book*, am for the Church of England, as it stood established by law, the *Creed* being the *contracted articles*, and the thirty-nine *articles* the *expanded Creed* of her *Doctrine*, as the Canons of her *Discipline*; and still I prize her Favour highest, though for the present it be least worth, as *little* able to *protect*, and *less* to *prefer* any that are faithful to her *interests*."

"As for *pleasing of parties*, I never *designed* nor *endeavoured* it. There were a kind of philosophers, called *Eclectici*, which were of *none*, yet of *all sects*, and who would not *engage in gross* in the *opinions* of any *Philosophers*, but do *pick and choose* here and there what they found *consonant* with *truth*, either amongst the *Stoicks*, *Peripatetics*, *Academics* (or misinterpreted), *Epicures*, and *receiving* that and *rejecting* the *rest*; such my *project to commend* in all *parties*, what I find *praiseworthy*, and *condemn* the *rest*, on which account some *fleer*, some *frown*, some *smile* upon me. First, for the Papists, though I malice not their *persons* and have a *pity* (as God, I hope, hath a *mercy*) for many amongst them, yet I do, as occasion is offered, to dislike their *errors*, whereby I have incurred and (according to their *principles*) deserved their *Displeasure*.

"The old *Nonconformists* being the same with the modern

Presbyterians, but depressed and under, as the modern Presbyterians are the old Nonconformists, but vertical and in authority, do (though the *Animadvertor* twitteth me constantly to advocate for them) take great and general exception at me ; and it is not long since, in a meeting of the most eminent amongst them, I was told that *I put too much gall into my inck against them.*"

"The Independent, being the Benjamin of parties (and his mess, I assure you, is none of the least), taxeth me for too much fieriness, as the *Adimadvertor* (in his expression lately cited) chargeth me with too much favour unto them.

"Thomas Lord Coventry when coming from the *Chancery*, to sit down at dinner, was wont to say, surely to day I have dealt equally, for I have displeased both sides. I hope that I have his *happiness*, for I am sure I have his unhappiness, that having disoblighed all parties, I have written the very truth. Then I can only privately comfort myself in my owne innocence, and hope that when my head is laid low, what seems *too sweet, too bitter, too fresh*, too salt to the present minded age, will be adjudged, well tasted and seasoned to the palate of impartial Posterity" (p. 11).

Again, alluding to the fact that by the *Animadvertor*'s censure, he should be debarred in all future time from writing History, Fuller observes, the unhappy benefit is thus set forth : "He hath done me a good turn for which (because not intended) I will thank God, namely, he, by his causeless carping, hath allayed in me the delight of writing histories, seeing nothing can be so impartially and inoffensively written but some will carp thereat. Mothers minding to wean their children, use to put soot, wormwood, or mustard on the nibbles of their breasts. God foresaw

*The Life of Fuller.*

that I might suck to a surfeit in writing *Histories*, which hath been a *Thief* in the *lamp of my Life*. Wasting much oyle thereof, my head and hand hath robbed my heart in such delightful studies. Wherefore He raised the bitter pen of the *Animadvertor* to wean me from such digressions from my vocation.

“I confess I have yet one *History* for the Press, which I hope will be for God’s glory and honour of the Nation.\* This new built ship is on the *stocks*, ready to be launched, and being a vessel of *great burden*, God send me some good Adventurers to bear part of the expense. This done, I will never meddle more with making any Book of this Nature. It is a provident way, before *writing leave us*, to *leave off writing*; and the rather, because scribbling is the frequentative thereof.

“If therefore my *petitioning* an *optative* Amen, shall meet with God’s *commissioning* and *imperative* Amen, I will hereafter attend to the concerns of my calling, and what directly and immediately shall tend to the advance of devotion in myself and others, as preparatory to my dissolution out of this state of mortality.”

Heylin had charged Fuller with a complaisant agreeableness to the times, to which our Author replies, “It is a *sinful agreeableness* when people for their private *profit* or safety, or both, are resolved in *belief and life: faith and fact, doctrine and manners*, to be the same with the *times*, how contrary soever they may be to the will and word of God, Be it Bible, or Thalmud, or *Alcoran*, or *Masse-book*, or *Com-*

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\* This alludes to the “Worthies,” which, however, was not published till after his death (1662).

mon Prayer book or *Directory*, any, many, all, or no manner of God's publick service to them all is alike and equally imbraced.

" But there is also a *sinless*, yea *lawful* and *necessary* agreeableness to the *Times*, insomuch that no meaner Father than St. Ambrose, or worn critick than Erasmus read the text Romans xii. ii., *δονλεύοντες τῷ καίρῳ*, *Serving the Time*, a reading countenanced by the context, *Rejoicing in Hope, patient in Tribulation, continuing in prayer*, all being directions of our demeanour in dangerous times. And even those who dislike the *reading*, as false, defend the *doctrine as true*, that though we must not be *slaves* and *vassals*, we may be *servants to the times*, so far forth or not to dis-serve God thereby."

He again refers to this sore point in the body of the Appeal. " Titus Livius lived in *imperial*, yet he wrote of *regal, consulatory, tribunitial* times at Rome ; without the least imputation of falsehood. I conceive monarchical, aristocratical, democratical truth to be one and the same : it followeth not that two-faced Janus as beholding two worlds, one *before* and one *after* the flood, had also two hearts. I did not attemper my history to the palate of the government, so as to sweeten it with any falsehood : but I made it palateable thus far forth as not to give a wilful disgust to those in present power, and procure danger to myself, by using any over salt, tart, or bitter expression, better forborne than inserted, without any prejudice to the truth." (Part i, 52.)

" The sinless and lawful agreeableness, *with the times* is partly *passive*, partly *active*. *Passive* chiefly consisteth in bearing and *forbearing*. *Bearing* is paying all pecuniary burdens imposed, it being but equal (in my opinion) there to return *Tribute* where we receive *protection*. I doubt not.

but that in this point even the Animadvertor himself is agreeable to the times, going about with the rest of his neighbours in payng of their taxes-public, &c. The *active* part is in doing what they enjoyn, as being indifferent and sometimes so good that our own conscience doth as should enjoyn the same," &c. "I have endeavoured," he says further on in the same chapter, speaking of his own experience "to steer my carriage by the compass aforesaid ; my main motive thereunto was, that I might enjoy the benefit of my *ministry*, the bare using whereof is the greatest *advancement* I am capable of in this life. I know all stars are not of the same *bigness*, and *brightness*, some *shine*, some only *twinkle*; and allowing myself of the latter size and sort, I would not willingly put out my own (though dimme) light in total darkness, nor would bury my *halfe-talent*, hoping by putting it forth to gain another *halfe-talent* thereby, to the Glory of God and the good of others."

Fuller thinks it might look suspicious that things had gone better with him than others—might he not have *bribed the Times*? "Otherwise how cometh it to pass, that *my fleece* like *Gideon's*, is *dry*, when the rest of my *brethren* of the *same party* are *wet* with their own *tears*, I being permitted *Preaching* and the peaceable enjoying of my *Parsonage*."

He attributes his exceptional circumstances "(1) to the undeserved goodness of God on my unworthiness; (2) to the favour of some great friends God hath raised up for me. And again, I must not forget the *articles of Exeter*, whereof I had the benefit, living, and waiting there on the *King's daughter*, at the *rendition* thereof, *Articles*, which both as *penned* and *performed* were the best in England, thanks to

their *wisdom* who so *wearily made*, and *honesty* who so well observed them.” \*

With regard to the “wretched and disloyal hopes,” which Dr. Heylin twitted our Author with, he flung them back at the Doctor’s head with interest. “*He* had wretched and disloyal hopes, who wrote that King James went to Newmarket, as Tiberius to Caprea : He waved his loyalty and discretion together, who so saucily and unsubject-like counted how often King Charles waved his crown. Here give me leave to tell the Animadvertor that much as he slighteth for *low Royalists* were (whilst they had a king in England,) as high in their loyalty to him, prayer, and sufferings for him, as those *high Royalists* who maintain that all goods of the subjects are at the king’s absolute dispose ; and yet since those kings have departed this life, can write of men in so base and disparaging language, that any one of the *low Royalists* would have his right hand cut off rather than write the like. Reader pardon my so just passion when disloyalty is laid to my charge. It is with me ‘Either now speak, or for ever hereafter hold your peace.’ (Part i. 56).

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\* Ch. xiv. (p. 14.)

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## CHAPTER XIV.

## FULLER'S APPEAL OF INJURED INNOCENCE. (2)

"As for the censure of Baronius, it is too harsh and uncharitable, charging him with *absurda et portentosa mendacia*, seeing that it cannot appear that Josephus willingly and wittingly made those mistakes. Wherefore such chance medley amounts not to manslaughter, much less to wilful murther; nor to say that the charitable reader ought to be a *City of Refuge* to such authors who, rather unhappy than unfaithful, fall into involuntary errorrs. In a word, historians who have no fault are only fit to write the actions of those princes and people who have no miscarriages, and only an Angel's pen, taken from his own wing, is proper to describe the story of the Church triumphant."—(*Pisgah-Sight* ii. 148.)



E have endeavoured to give the reader some idea of Fuller's general answer to Dr. Heylin, and we proceed to some of the more particular answers to his opponent's exceptions, which he wittily combats in the "Appeal." On page 15 is set out Dr. Heylin's title-page: "Examen Historicum, or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities and Defects in some Modern History. Part 1. Containing necessary animadversions on the Church History of Great Britain, and the History of Cambridge, Publish'd by Thomas Fuller. For vindication of the Truth, the Church and the injured Clergy, 2. Cor. xiii. 8. Non possumus aliquid adversus veritatem sed pro veritate. Minut. Fæl. in Octavio. Et veritas quidem obvia est, sed requirentibus." Our Author then meets the

charges one by one, and having fenced at a distance comes upon him in close quarters, a mortal hand-to-hand combat, which controversy, however, it is due to Fuller to say, was conducted by him with fairness, charity, and loyalty. Passages are set down as they present themselves, and at once replied to; the name “Fuller,” and “Dr. Heylin,” being placed at the head of each of the respective paragraphs, according as the arguments or statements therein are being made by one or other of these doughty antagonists. Fuller leaves off by saying “the *Challenge* is no part of the *Combate* nor the *Mountebanks* bill of the *Cure*. It is answer enough to a title page, it is *but a title page*. Whenever the Doctor intituleth his notes on my books animadversions, know animadvertere in *Latin*, signifieth to mark and observe, but rather by the way of reproof than approbation, and in a secondary sense to *correct, chastise, and severely punish* a malefactor.

Our Author very ingeniously upholds his various *Dedications* in his “Church History.” He temperately asserts that he might do what he would with his own : nor had any of the three evils happened through his dedications, which Heylin avers impelled him to take up the pen—the truth was not prejudiced, or the Church wronged, nor were the clergy injured, that some costly books had been by his means brought under the notice of the public ; and lastly, he goes on to say, “It is all one in effect whether one *printeth* his dedication to many patrons, or whether one *presenteth* a printed history of St. George to each English Knight of the Garter, with a written letter prefixed to every one of them, save that the former way is better, as which rendereth the Author’s gratitude the more public and conspicuous.”

With regard to Fuller's dabbling in *heraldry*, our Author's apology for the same is extremely clever and ingenuous : "Those passages of heraldry are *put in for variety and diversion, to refresh the wearied reader.*" "They are never used," he says, "without asking of leave before, or craving pardon after the inserting thereof; and such craving is having a request in that kind with the ingenious. Grant it ill manners in an author not to ask, it is ill nature in a reader not to grant so small a suit." As to the Battle Abbey roll, he remarks : "The very addition of *Abbey* doth dye it with some ecclesiastical tincture." And he declares, respecting the arms of the Knights of Ely, "that they were never before printed; that the wall in which they were painted was demolished; and that each knight *blended* (or, as he might say, *empaled*) with a monk, a moiety of that mixture might be reducible to Church history."\* The fact is, Fuller, like most antiquarians, had very strong heraldic proclivities ; he not only understood perfectly, but literally revelled in, heraldry, so that he could not help showing it from time to time ; and if he was a little proud of displaying his heraldic accomplishments, it was a very pardonable fault, and he sinned, if he did so, in company with some of the most cultured scholars in every age.

Heylin had accused our Author for introducing *old ends of poetry*, which he found not in classic or sacred historians. To which our Author retorts a little angrily, "that Herodotus had never given the name of the Nine Muses to his books, if such was his abstemiousness from poetry." And again : "Qui scribit historicè, scribit misere, if enslaved

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\* Part i. 33, 34.

to all punctillos thereof. Let the Animadvertor keep those steel-bodys for his own wearing, and not force them on *me*. What ! not a plait or a ruffle more or less, but all must be done in number, weight, and measure, according to historical criticism. This is not putting the *book*, but the *author* himself in the press.”\*

Heylin had complained of Fuller’s *Church History*, that it was not dull *enough*. To cavil at a lively and vivacious style, especially in case of such an enormous folio as the *History*, and the dryness of its subject-matter to the ordinary lay mind, does indeed seem strange, and as if the Animadvertor was hard up for a topic of complaint. Our Author’s reply is as witty as entertaining. Yet Heylin himself indulged in this kind of writing. Take for instance the Epistle to his *Letter Combate*, addressing Baxter, and alluding to “such unsavoury pieces of wit and mischief as the *Church Historian*, he puts this question, “Would you not have me rub them with a little salt to keep them sweet ?” Fuller, who had read Heylin’s works, averred that his opponent might produce the most light and ludicrous story in all his book, “and here stand I, ready to parallel it with as light, in any grave authors as ever set pen to paper.” But in their sporting moods, Fuller must be credited with the more reverent mind. Thus Heylin, in the course of the discussion, is found exclaiming, “God bless, not only our historian, but Baronius himself !” “Three is a perfect number,” replies Fuller, “let, therefore, the Animadvertor be put in also: partly to make up a complete company, partly that he may have the benefit of his own *jeer-prayers*

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\* Part i. 36.

to himself: Baronius being dead, to pray for him is Popery, and to ‘take God’s name in vain’ (to jeer us both) is profaness.”\*

Heylin having put a mock speech into Fuller’s mouth, our Author thus wittily replied: “It would never have come into my mind to have compared the table of the Lord to a May-pole: I hope that the principles of my education will restrain me from profaness in such unfitting parallels.” †

Fuller says, with regard to traducing the *Fathers of the Church* (*i.e.*, the Bishops), that, so far from doing this, he had embalmed their memory with his best spices; ‡ and as to his opinion with regard to those who did not fully conform, our Author states that he “closed fully with the moderate judgment of Hooker.” Indeed, Fuller admits that he did not decline commending some of the Non-conformists—as Cartwright, Travers, Stone, Udal, Greenham, Hildersham, and Dod, “all (though dissenting from the Church in ceremonies) eminent in their generation. I commend them not for their nonconformity, but for other qualities of piety, painfulness, learning, patience, &c.” §

That Heylin was capable of bespattering his antagonist with abuse is evident from the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the moderate party in the Convocation of 1640. “How wise the rest were I am not able to say, but certainly our author showed himself ‘no wiser than Waltham’s calf,

\* Part i. 58.

† Part iii. 20.

‡ Part i. 46.

§ Part i. 46.

who ran nine miles to suck a bull and came home athirst,' as the proverb saith.\* His running into Oxford, which cost him as much in seventeen weeks as he had spent in seventeen years, was but a second sally to the first Knight-errantry." To which Fuller replied in these words, " I can patiently comport with the Animadvertor's *jeers*, which I behold as so many frogs, that it is pleasing to see them hop and skip about, having not much harm in them; but I cannot abide his *railings*, which are like to toads, swelling with venom within them. Anyone may rail who is bred but in Billingsgate College; and I am sorry to hear such lauguage from the Animadvertor, a doctor in Divinity, seeing railing is as much *beneath* a Doctor as *against* Divinity. When Dr. Turner, a physician sufficiently known, gave the lie (at the Earl of Pembroke's table) to the Earl of Carnarvon, 'I will take the lie from you,' replied the Earl, 'but I will never take physic from you.' If such railing be consistent with the Doctor's divinity, this once I will take the *calf*, but never have divinity from him. Two things comfort one under his reviling: first, that no worse man than David himself complained that he 'became a Proverb to his enemies' (Ps. lxxix. 11); secondly, though a *calf* be a contemptible creature, passing for the emblem (not with the dove of simplicity, but) of plain silliness, yet it is a clean one, and accepted of God for sacrifice (Heb. ix. 19). Whereas the snarling dog (though a creature of far more

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\* This was a common proverb in Fuller's time, and is referred to in "Hudibras."

"Thou wilt at best but suck a bull,  
Or shear swine—all cry, and no wool."

cunning and sagacity) was so odious and unclean, that by a peculiar law it was provided, that ‘the price of a dog should not be brought into the house of the Lord’”\* (Deut. xxiii. 18).

Again, Fuller had said that Laud was generally charged with Popish inclination, and the story is commonly told and believed of a lady who told Laud that she was about to join the Church of Rome, because she perceived that his Lordship with many others was fast hastening thither, and she hated to go in a crowd. This is Dr. Heylin’s comment : “Here is a charge of the Archbishop’s inclination unto Popery, and the proof nothing but a tale, and the tale of a lady. Quid vento ? Mulier. Quid Muliere ? Nihil. The substance of the tale is this : That a certain lady (if any lady may be certain), who, turning Papist, &c.” To which Fuller answers, “I will take the boldness to English his Latin verse, that the weaker sex may see the strength of his charity unto them :

“ What’s more fickle than the wind ?  
Ev’n a woman in her mind.  
Fickler what’s than womankind ?  
Nothing in the world we find.”†

On another occasion Fuller answers his antagonist in the following terms : “The Animadverter endeavours to run me on one of those dangerous rocks, either to condemn the University for fools and madmen, whom I love and honour for wise and sober persons : or else to make me incur the displeasure of the Parliament. And the Philosopher’s answer to the Emperor is well known, ‘That it is ill dis-

\* Part iii. 33.

† Part iii. 61.

puting with them that can command legions.' The best is, I am not bound to answer this dangerous dilemma. Keeping myself close to my calling, namely, reporting what was done. . . . I am not so old to be weary of the world, as I hope it is not of me. And God having given me children I will not destroy them, and hazard myself by running into needless dangers. And let this suffice for an answer." \*

Heylin then speaks of Davenport: "It appears (*i.e.* that all these in the Church of Rome are not so stiffly wedded to their own opinions as our author (Fuller) makes them), secondly by a tractate of *Franciscus de Sanctâ Claro* (as he calleth himself), in which he putteth such a gloss upon the Nine-and-Thirty Articles of the Church of England." Of this Fuller observes: "By that parenthesis (as he calleth himself) it is left suspicious, that his *true name* was otherwise. And he who would not use his own, but a false *name*, might (for ought I know) put a false *gloss* upon our *Articles*: and though he putteth such a sense upon them, it is questionable whether our *Articles* will accept thereof." †

Heylin had attacked Fuller respecting his too great partiality for Archbishop Williams, and several pages are taken up in his defence. "I am sorry," says our Author, "to see the memory of this Bishop since his decease to fall on a sharper stake than his body did in his *infancy*, even the *pen of the Animadvertor*. I confess, chastity cannot necessarily be concluded from natural debility, or casual impotency, there being a possibility of a *frying heart* in a

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\* Part iii. 71.

† Part iii. p. 65.

*freezing body.* And we know who hath written *ut Eunuchus qui amplectitur virginem et gemit.*\*

“The casualty of his infancy was by me mentioned, and cast in as *super-pondium*, or over-weight, to confirm such as were persuaded before in his chastity, which was never called in question by any person of credit. As for *Aulicus e Coquina*, the *courtier out of the kitchen*, pretending himself such a *master of defence* in all *court-controversies*. Such as have perused his book will find cause to say of him, ‘Expectavi lanistam, inveni sturram, Rabulam, luxam.’

“The conversableness of this Bishop with *women* consisted chiefly, if not only, in his *Treatment* of great *Ladyes* and *Persons of Honour*, wherein he did personate the compleatness of courtesie to that sex: otherwise a woman was seldom to be seen in his house. Hence it was the Palace of this prelate had more *magnificence* than *neatness* therein, sometimes defective in the *Puncillos* and *nicetyes* of daintinesse, lying lower than masculine cognizance, and as level to woman’s eye to copy, as easy for her hand to amend.”†

Heylin had said that this Prelate never attended the Prayers in the Chappell of the Tower (where he was a prisoner), to which Fuller replies: “Though (for reasons best known to himself) he went not to prayers in the Tower Chappell, yet was he his own chaplain to read them in his own chamber. And let me add this memorable passage thereunto. During his durance in the Tower, there was a kinsman of Sir William Balfour’s then lieutenant, a Scottish man and his name Mr. Melvin, too), who being mortally wounded

\* Eccles. xxx. 20.

Part iii. p. 77.

sent for Bishop Williams to pray with him. The Bishop read to him the *Visitation of the Sick*, having fore-acquainted this dying man. That there was a form of Absolution in this Prayer, if he thought fit to receive it. Wherewith Mr. Melvin was not only well satisfied, but got himself up as well as he could on his knees in the bed, and in that posture received Absolution.\* And again, “I will not advocate for all the actions of *Bishop Williams*, and though the Animadvertor beholds my pen as over partiale unto him, yet I know who it was that wrote unto me, *semper es iniquior in Archiepiscopum Eboracensem*. I am a true honourer of his many excellent virtues, and no excuser of his faults, who could heartily wish that the latter part of his life had been like the beginning thereof.”†

Much more might have been added to the notice of this interesting and many sided controversy between Dr. Heylin and Fuller, but to notice all that might be commented upon in so wide a field might distract by an unavoidable diffusiveness, and some readers might not feel interested by further recapitulation of a personal discussion, exciting enough to the polemical theologian, but now long since laid to rest. We will therefore only add the concluding paragraph of Dr. Heylin’s *Examen*, and Fuller’s final comment thereon. Heylin, referring to Archbishop Williams, to whom he says Fuller was partial: “And so I take my leave of this great prelate, whom I both reverence for his place, and honour for his parts as much as any, and yet I cannot choose but say that I find more reason to condemn

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\* Part iii. 80.

† Part iii. 81.

than there is to commend him : so that we may affirm of him as the historian d'oth of Catus Cæsar, son of Agrippa, and nephew to the great Augustus, viz., Tam varie se gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna, nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat, as my Author has it. And with the same character accommodated to our Author, and this present history, I conclude these notes: subjoining only this old saying as well for my comfort as my defence, viz., "Truth, though it may be blamed, can never be shamed."—Fuller.  
"Here the Animadvertisor doth tickle and pinch me both together; yet neither will I laugh or cry, but keep my former composure. I will take no notice of a piece of Mezentism in his joining of the dead and living together, and conceive myself far unworthy to be paralleled in the least degree with his eminences. However, I will endeavour with the gladiators *καλῶς πιπτεῖν honeste decumbere*—that when I can fight no longer, I may 'fall handsomely' in the scene of this life. May God, who gave it, have the glory of what is good in me: myself the shame of what is bad, which I ought to labour to amend." \*

We have already alluded to the four Epistles which are appended to the "Appeal." Our Author had certainly the cacoëthes scribendi with regard to letter writing, and dedications, "consult, consider, and give sentence," he says, to the ingenuous reader. And in his third letter he addresses his life-long antagonist, having apologetically devoted his first to Dr. Cosin, an explanatory epistle. These are two epistles referred to.

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\* Part iii. 81.

“(1) To the Reverend and His Worthy Friend, Dr. JOHN COSIN,  
Dean of Peterborough.

“SIR,—You may be pleased to remember that some two years since being informed by your friend, Mr. Davenport, that you took some exceptions at what I had written concerning you, in my “Church History,” I returned you an answer to this effect:

“That I would make you just reparation, either in the next edition of my history, or in another book which I was about to set forth of the Worthies of England, choosing therein the most proper and conspicuous place, which might render it most visible to the Reader.

“This last book had since been printed, had not the unhappy difference between Dr. Heylin and me retarded it.

“What I wrote concerning your accusation in the House of Commons, I transcribed out of the manuscript journals of that House. As for your purgation in the House of Lords, I knew not thereof: which maketh such my omission the more excusable.

“I am now right glad, that you did so clearly vindicate your innocence. In my next edition I will do you all possible right (with improvement) that my pen can perform: and also God willing, when I come to treat, in my intended Eook of the Cathedral of Durham.

“In the meantime, joyning with Hundreds more of my Profession, in thanks to you for your worthy work on the Apocrypha, and desiring the continuation and increase of God’s blessing on your studies, who do abide the Champion for our Religion in foreign parts. Know that amongst your many honourers, you have none more affectionate than

“Your humble servant,  
“THOMAS FULLER.”

(3) “To my loving Friend, Dr. PETER HEYLIN.

“I hope, Sir, we are not mutually unfriended by this difference which hath happened betwixt us. And now, as Duellers, when they are both out of breath, may still and parley, before they have a second pass, let us in cold blood exchange a word, and, meantime, let us depose, at least suspend our animosities.

"Death has crept into both our clay cottages through the windows, your eyes being bad, mine not good : God mend them both and sanctify unto us these monitors of mortality : and however it fareth with our corporeal sight, send our souls that *Collyrium* and heavenly 'eye-salve,' mentioned in Scripture.

"But indeed, Sir, I conceive our time, pains, and parts, may be better expended to God's glory and the Church's good, than in these needless contentions. Why should Peter fall out with Thomas, both being disciples of the same Lord and Master? I assure you, Sir (whatever you conceive to the contrary), I am cordial to the cause of the English Church, and my hoary hairs will go down to the grave in sorrow for her sufferings.

"You will remember the passage in Homer how wise Nestor bemoaned the unhappy difference betwixt Agamemnon and Achilles.

"Ω πόποι ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιάδα γαῖαν ικάνει  
"Η κεν γηθήσατο Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο τε πᾶιδες,  
"Άλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ,  
"Εἰ σφωϊν τάδε πάντα πνθοίατο μαρναμένουν.

"O God ! how great the grief of Greece the while :  
And Priam's self and sons do sweetly smile :  
Yea, all the Trojan party swell with laughter,  
That Greeks with Greeks fall out, and fight to slaughter.

"Alas ! Alas ! What grief is this for Greece,  
What joy for Priam and for Priam's sons !  
What exultation for the men of Troy,  
To hear of feuds 'tween you, of all the Greeks  
The first in counsel and the first in fight."

"ILIAS I, 254-7."—(*Lord Derby's Translation.*)

"Let me, therefore, tender unto you an expedient, in tendency to our mutual agreement. You know full well, Sir, in heraldry two lioncels rampant, endorsed, are said to be the emblem of two valiant men, keeping appointment and meeting in the field, but either forbidden fight by their prince, or departing on terms of equality agreed betwixt themselves. Whereupon, turning back to back, neither conquerors nor conquered, they depart the field

several ways (their stout stomachs not suffering both to go the same way) lest it be accounted as injury one to precede the other.

"In like manner, I know you disdain me to allow me your equal in this controversy betwixt us, and I will not allow you my superior. To prevent future trouble, let it be a drawn battle; and let both of us 'abound in our own sense,' severally persuaded in the truth of what we have written. Thus parting and going out *back to back* here (to cut off all contest about precedence) I hope we shall meet in heaven *face to face* hereafter. In order whereunto, God willing, I will give you a meeting when and where you shall be pleased to appoint, that we who have tilted pens, may shake hands together.

"St. Paul writing to Philemon touching Onesimus saith 'For therefore he therefore departed for a season, that thou mightest receive him for ever.' To avoid exceptions, you shall be the good *Philemon*, I the fugitive *Onesimus*. Who knoweth by that God in his Providence permitted, yea, ordered this difference to happen betwixt us, not only to occasion a reconciliation, but to consolidate a mutual friendship betwixt us during our lives, and that the survivor (in God's pleasure only to appoint) may make favourable and respectful mention of him who goeth first to his grave. The desire of him who remains, Sir, a lover of your parts and an honourer of your person,

"THO. FULLER."

Commenting on this remarkable letter, breathing the purest spirit of Christianity, Mr. Nichols, who had a fine discrimination for all Fuller's works, and was a keen admirer of his writings, remarks, "I do not recollect to have read a letter in any language equal to this: the composition of an old warrior, who, feeling that he had obtained a well-contested victory over his brave antagonist, could afford to be generous, and allow his captive to retire with 'the honours of war.' The fine Christian spirit which breathes through the whole of this very elegant epistle, at once manly and tender, disarmed the wrath of Heylin, whose natural testiness

was proverbial, and who compelled all his contemporaries,

“In arguing, too, to own his wondrous skill,  
For e'en, though vanquished, he could argue still.”

“I am not aware,” he adds, “that Heylin, who survived Fuller but one year, ever complied with the concluding request in this letter, to ‘make favourable and respectful mention of him who might go first to his grave.’ In this case we may hope that it was fully in his intention to render due honour to the deceased, and must in charity accept the will for the deed.”\*

The *Appeal* is indeed a kind of appendix to the *Church History*, and for that reason is printed uniformly with it. Sometimes it is bound up with the History, as in the case of the copy we have been able to obtain, but mostly it is bound up separately, as in the copy at the British Museum.

It is chiefly valuable as a sort of reflex of the history of those times, as it refers to important events at a most critical period in the history of our Church and the nation, in which the two antagonists were mixed up, and from the colouring matter thrown in, we see the current topics, and contemporary history from the standpoint of the respective champions. Nor does the controversy merit the flippant remark of A. Wood, who, being an Oxford man, naturally leaned to the side of the Oxford man, and makes the remark that, on the appearance of Heylin’s censures, Fuller “came out with a thin folio full of submission and acknowledgment.”

But apart from the facetiousness and interest of this rejoinder—the pleasant charm of the style, its exuberant wit “pressed down” yet always “running over” in good

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\* “Appeal,” p. 672.

measure—the Appeal will always be a monument of Fuller's characteristic spirit and genius. We do not know any kind of writing so difficult to sustain, avoiding personalities and unobtrusive at the same time, as the defensive or apologetic. But men of genius only can in this line command success ; and such works as Fuller's "Appeal of Injured Innocence" in his day, and "Newman's Apologia pro vita suâ," in our own, deserve to be placed side by side on the highest shelf in the temple of literature, as models of dignified apology, subdued egoism, charming style, and chastened eloquence. It is, says the author of "Life," "a very modest, but most rational and polite, defence to the aforesaid exceptions against that elaborate defence. D'Aubigné, in his "Vindication of the Protector," calls Fuller a High-Churchman.

In this "Appeal of Injured Innocence" we notice three principal characteristics, the first of which is the marked fairness of our Author, as a controversialist. Every dispassionate reader must come to the conclusion that Fuller was badly treated, and if he had only repaid Heylin in his own coin he would have been severely punished. To be perfectly fair, Fuller allows Heylin to tell his own story, and the whole story in his own words, without paring it down, picking out parcels and cutting off threads, and presenting a garbled or one-sided statement. The lion was in point of fact allowed to paint himself. Fuller presents "the whole cloth of his book (as he will find so if pleasing to measure it over again)—length and breath, and list and fag\*" and all—that so the reader may see of what wool it is made, and with what thread it is spun, and thereby be

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\* These are terms used in the fulling trade.

the better enabled to pass his verdict upon it."\* He continued this mode of proceeding into the second part of his *Apologia*, but Heylin's stationer hearing of this took exception to such a reprint of the *Examen*. Whereupon Fuller protested that he had regard only to his own reputation and not the stationer's detriment, and forthwith left out in the remainder all that contained "no pungent matter" against himself, although he could not see how he could otherwise, "seeing the plaster must be as broad as the sore, the tent as deep as the wound." This certainly proves Fuller's desire to be fair and open.

The next point we have to notice is Fuller's tenderness and charity, not only with regard to his opponent in particular, but in general with all from whom he might have differed. He endeavoured to "hold *the* faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life." When Heylin complains that Fuller had called the "schismatics" of Frankfort saints, our Author replies, "If God were not more merciful to us than we are charitable to one another, what would become of us all?" I humbly conceive that these exiles (though I will not advocate for their carriage in any particular) had more liberty in modelling their own Church than such as live in England, under a settled government, commanded by authority. *Schismatic* in my mind is too harsh for such who fled and suffered for their conscience. However, I conceive a saintship not inconsistent with such schismaticalness; God graciously, on their general repentance, forgiving them their fault therein."

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\* Part i., p. 5.

† Part ii., p. 80.

Once more he remarks that he cannot “close with the Animadvertor in his uncharitable censure of the ministry of foreign Protestant Churches, rendering them utterly invalid, because ordained by no bishops.

“Cain (as commonly believed) is conceived to have killed a fourth part of mankind by murdering Abel; but the Animadvertor’s cruelty to Protestants hath exceeded this proportion, in spiritually killing more than a fourth part of Protestants, according to his own principles, for if no priests in France, Low Countries, Switzerland, &c., then no sacraments; then no Church; then no salvation.” This is what our Author thought of toleration: “*Multiformity* with mutual charity advanceth God’s glory as much as *uniformity* itself in matters merely indifferent; which, as the pipes of an organ, may be of several lengths and bigness, yet all turned on into good harmony together.”\* This shows the true spirit of Christian charity; would that more of it had been imported into the unhappy Ritualistic disputes of our day!

And a last point we notice is the intense loyalty of Fuller to the old historical Church of this country, and the Faith of his Fathers. Heylin insinuated the contrary, speaking of Fuller’s attack on the Homilies. But our Author quickly traversed Heylin’s accusation with a rebutting statement, which we have had to quote in another place. “Well had it been for the peace and happiness of the Church if the Animadver.or (and all of his party) had had as high an esteem as the Author hath for the Homilies: if none of these had called them Homely Homelies, as one did (viz. Bishop

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\* Part ii., p. 91.

Montagu, of *Appello Cæsarem*) and if they had conformed their practice to the second Homily in the second book (against Peril of Idolatry), and not appeared so further in countenancing images of God and his Saints in Churches."

Speaking of the alliance with Spain, Heylin said that "the Puritans were afraid lest it might arm the King with power and counsel to suppress these practices which have since proved the funeral of the Church of England." To which Fuller replied, "I hope that there is still a Church of England alive, or else we were all in a sad, yea, in an unvaluable condition. The state of which Church of England I compare to Eutychus, Acts xx. 9; I suspect it hath formerly slept too soundly in ease and security. Sure I am it is since with him fallen down from the third loft ; from honour into contempt ; from unity into faction ; from verity into dangerous errors. Yet I hope to follow the allegory that her life is still left in her ; I mean so much soundness left that persons born, living and dying, are capable of salvation. Yet such as think the Church of England sick pray for her wonderful recovery ; such as think her dead pray for her miraculous resurrection."\*

The contest, however, was not yet over, and Dr. Heylin, in no ways mollified by Fuller's Appeal, returned to the controversy with renewed zest and energy. He did this in a new work called *Certamen Epistolare*, or the *Letter Combate*, published in 1659, in which he sends "last words" verba novissima, to five of his opponents. The appendix alone interests us as it refers to our Author, "in answer to some passages in Mr. Fuller's late *Appeal*." It contains

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\* Part ii. p 87.

“an exchange of letters between Mr. Thomas Fuller, of Waltham, and Dr. Peter Heylin, of Abingdon: with an examination of some passages in Mr. Fuller’s late *Appeal for Injured Innocence*.“ Were these three works, Heylin’s *Examen* and *Certamen Epistolare*, and Fuller’s *Appeal* bound up together, it would make an interesting and admirable trilogy, and would illustrate the art of polemical controversy, as conducted by two well matured and cultured wits, with a thorough mastery of the English language of the best and most racy sort.

In his *Letter Combat*, Dr. Heylin informs us that he wrote the appendix in ten days, and four days after writing his preparatory epistle he received Fuller’s reply. In it he says he “was solicited by persons of all orders and degrees and stations, as well as Ecclesiastical or Academical,” to engage with the Church Historian, and so far from craving Fuller’s pardon, he had written in a very different strain.

Referring to the *Appeal*, Heylin said that Fuller had ingeniously confessed many errors, “some he endeavoured to avoid, and seek all subterfuges which wit or cunning can devise to save himself from the sense and guilt of conviction. And other arguments there are which he so avoideth as to make no answer to them at all.” After setting out Fuller’s “general avoidings” and “particular traverses,” he passes on to notice first the personal points of difference between them. Commencing with himself (for he could not so far forget himself to be a parson as to christen his own child first), Heylin remarks, that his exceptions were too just to be termed *Cavils*. “He makes the causeless cavils so frequent in me, and the humour of cavilling so predominant in my affections, as to be able to affright all those from

writing histories, who have both ‘ commendable inclinations,’ and ‘ proportional qualifications,’ for such undertakings, for saving to myself the benefit and advantage of exception, now and all times hereafter against the injustice of such a false and undeserved calumny. I do hereby assure the *Appealant*, and all others whatsoever they be, who shall apply themselves to the writing of histories, that my pen shall never be employed about them to the disgracing of their persons, or the discountenancing their performance in what sort soever. And in pursuance thereof, I shall be somewhat better natured than the Lady Moore, of whom my Author knows a tale, that coming once from shrift, she pleasantly said unto her husband, ‘ Be merry, Sir Thomas, for I have been well shiven to-day, and mean to lay aside all my old shrewishness’ ‘ Yea, madam,’ said he, ‘ and then to begin again afresh.’’\* Heylin also makes complaint that if he were “grave and serious in any animadversions, he ascribes it ever and anon to my too much *morosity*, as if I were the morose himself in Ben Johnson’s ‘Epicæne,’ if smart and jocular, I shall be presently accused of *railing*, as if I had been bred in Billings-Gate College. I can make myself merry with a mess of *Fullers*, but I must have a *rail* laid to my dish and a *quail* to boot, especially if I touch on our Author himself, who will behold me for so doing, with no other eyes than the servants of Hezekiah looked on Rabsecah.”†

With regard to Fuller’s answer being “full and speedy” Heylin says, “it is full of needless questions and disputes, which betrayed a want of ability in maintaining the quarrel.

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\* P. 324.

† P. 325.

I remember I have somewhere read of a famous wrestler, who, being many times overthrown, did suddenly start up, and by an eloquent oration, persuaded the people that he rather fell by a slip of his own foot, than by the strength of his adversary. Such a wrestler I have met with, in the present appellant, who imputes all his faults to slips, slips of the pen, slips pretal (*sic*), as he words it, and slips of memory.”\*

Having referred to the friendly overture in Fuller’s epistle, and penning one himself in no very reciprocal attitude, he alludes to his growing infirmity with regard to his eye-sight, to the loss of his library, and the nature of a country life, which debarred him from making a more potential reply, adding that he had learned with Christ to agree with his adversary while in the way with him. He thus concludes. “I must needs say,” continues he, “you have offered me very fair conditions, whereby I am put in the way towards this agreement, which I shall follow with the greatest cheerfulness. When I shall see some good effects of your protestations—such reparation made to *Injured Innocence* as is professed in your *Appeal*—which happy hour, whensoever it comes, I shall not only give you the right hand of fellowship, as the Apostles did to Paul, when from a persecutor of the Church he became one of the chief pillars in it, but the right hand of precedence which the old and dim-sighted patriarch gave to Ephraim, though the younger brother. We shall not then enter into the dispute, which of us goes first out of the field, or turn our backs towards one another, according to your emblem of the two lions endorsed (which

you have very well noted out of Gerard Leigh) for avoiding contentions in the way, but hand to hand as becometh brethren, the sons not only of the same Father, but the same Mother too. Nor shall we then enter into a dispute which of the two shall be reputed for the good Philemon, or which the fugitive Onesimus, there being as great a readiness in me to submit unto you in all points of civility, as there can be averseness in you to acknowledge me for your superior by way of argument. So doing, we shall both be victors, though neither can be said to be vanquished, and shall consolidate a friendship without the intervening of any concilement. And on these terms none be readier to preserve either a valuable esteem whilst we live together, or a fair memory of you if you go before me, than me, the most unworthy of your brethren amongst the true sons of the Church of England. PET. HEYLIN, Lacies Court, Abingdon, May 16th, 1659.”\*

This letter led up to an amicable interview between the two champions, and Fuller went down to Abingdon to see Dr. Heylin, and compose their differences. The reconciliation on either side seems to have been as hearty as it was prompt, which Fuller’s biographer attributes to our Author’s disposition, adding that the quarrel was “soon healed into a perfect amiable closure and mutual endearment.”

Fuller and Dr. Heylin seem to have remained good friends ever afterwards, and in his “Worthies” our Author, with good taste and feeling, makes a “respectful mention of a worthy work of my honoured friend.”†

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\* P. 397.

† Warwickshire, p. 113.

Lloyd thus fittingly concludes his notice of Fuller. "And because Dr. Heylin and he agreed so lovingly in their mutual charity one towards another at last, after they had differed in opinion at first, let Dr. Heylin dwell by him," which he accordingly did.

Heylin's life was a very chequered one. He had said that he would not have anything more to do with correcting other men's writings, nor would he engage in any further polemical controversy. The time was now come "to leave the stage to more able action." He mentions the fact with gratitude, that Simeon-like, his "old bad eyes had seen the King's return." He received back his prebend, glad "that his old friends the House of Commons and the Lord of Lincoln were out of Westminster." He was resorted to as an oracle of the past by many of the New Caroline Bishops, but he did not long enjoy his restored livings, as his health broke down through disappointment, it is said, of being passed over for Church preferment. Only a little while before his death he dreamed that Charles I. appeared to him, who said, "Peter, I will have you buried under your seat at church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study." His death happened May, 1662, and he was buried under the sub-dean's seat, according to his dream.

Fuller did not approve that his differences with a brother priest should be made public, and this controversy caused him many searchings of heart. The quarrel attracted the notice of outsiders, as is evident from the Homeric quotation, and none watched it more closely than the recusants, as they were called, or Roman Catholics, themselves.

With regard to our Author's related attitude towards the claims of the Church of Rome, Fuller's anonymous bio-

grapher expresses himself very freely. After speaking of his contention with Nonconformity, he says, "He was likewise, on the other side, a professed and avowed adversary to the Mass and Traditions, which caused him no little slander and obliquy. But the spirit of this pious Doctor was exceedingly stirred in him against all Popish insinuators, because he was too sensible that through the mad zeal of the vulgar, whom they had by Jesuitical practices inflamed, the house of God in these kingdoms was set in combustion. Therefore, with much prudence, courage, and boldness, did he everywhere in his books, as occasion offered, unmask the conceits and designs, resist and curb the pride, convince and lay open the errors of the Church of Rome, though he never wrote anything particularly by way of controversy against it, because (as he said) there was no end of it, and more than sufficient had been already wrote, if any ingenuity had been in the adherents of that See, to have submitted to truth."

"Nor was there ever any of that religion who were so hardy as to challenge or tax the Doctor but obliquely, for anything wherewith he had charged them, either of apostacy, heresy, or manifest idolatry, their abuse of antiquity in their erasures and additions, which did very often occur to him in most of his books, from which they were sure to hear of them to the purpose. It much rejoiced the Roman party when that misunderstanding happened betwixt Dr. Heylin and himself about his Ecclesiastical history, though they *caught no fish in those troubled waters*; while they tossed of their proud billows forward and backward, the Protestant cause was safely anchored and moored betwixt them."\*

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\* "Life," pp. 83-85.

Referring to Fuller's religious convictions "all round," he proceeds to say, "As he never had occasion to engage in any polemical discourse with any of that party; so in these miserable bandyings of our late unhappy times did he always refrain from stickling in any side, though it was sufficiently known how firmly grounded and addict (he was) to the true Protestant religion, in opposition to the innovations of Presbytery and the schisms of Independency, against whom he also had a zeal, but allayed with a greater compassion, then to the Papists, distinguishing between the seducers and seduced, whom notwithstanding he did very severely deal withal in his writings. He may be said to been a right-handed enemy to the stubborn Romanist, and a left-handed one to the cunning sectary."\*

In short, Fuller remained firm to the true Reformation settlement, "seeking the old paths" in the true *via media* of the historical Church of England—equally removed from Rome on the one hand, and Geneva on the other, and he might have framed, and would fully have endorsed, the words of good Bishop Ken, who said, "As to my religion, I die in the faith of the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrines of the Cross."—From the will of Bishop Ken, A.D. 1710.

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\* Page 86.

## CHAPTER XV.

FULLER'S "MIXT CONTEMPLATIONS IN BETTER TIMES," AND  
"ALARUM TO THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES."

(1659-61.)

"Many things in England are out of joint for the present, and a strange confusion there is in Church and State; but let this comfort us, we trust it is confusion in tendency to order. And, therefore, let us for a time more patiently comport therewith.—(*Mixt Contemplations on these Times*, xliv.)

HE dawn of the Restoration was now at hand, and the rosy-fingered morn of the coming day was beginning to illumine the Eastern heavens.

The sun of Imperialism was once more slowly but surely rising upon this free and happy country with political healing in its wings, never more, we trust, to set in this Imperial Kingdom, and a morn was about to break destined to usher in the full meridian of constitutional freedom and liberty, both in Church and State. The movement of the approach of the royal chariot-wheels was being heard quite close, even at the very doors. With this "Restauration" Fuller had perhaps more to do than has ever been yet really suspected. He had been a chaplain in the Royal Family, and was on terms of intimacy with some of the most influential members of the nobility, as is evident from his numerous dedicatory epistles; he was beloved and looked up to by his own order—the clergy of

the National Church—while at the same time he was regarded with esteem by even the Presbyterians and Independents, as we have seen; he was an ardent Royalist, and yet not unfriendly to a constitutional commonwealth; he was much admired as an author, and idolized as a preacher; he had suffered much as a patriot and clergyman; and his well-known moderation, combined with a consistent carriage under all and the most trying circumstances, won for him the admiration and respect of all parties. This made our Author trusted at a most critical concatenation of circumstances, which was gradually forging the chain of contemporary history.

We may trace the onward sweep of the great movement of that day—the era of Restoration—in the lucubrations of his own untiring pen. The rest of the Clergy were in earnest as much as himself to bring about the desired consummation, stimulated by the exhortations of Barwick and others. Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, Fuller's old friend, and preacher at the Temple, died on the 7th December, and our Author expresses a regret that he had not lived to have been the means of composing the then existing differences. Our Author, in his “Worthies,” writes,\* “I observed at his funeral that the *prime persons* of all *persuasions* were present, whose judgments going several ways, met all in a general grief for his decease. He was buried at the cost of both Temples, to his great, but their greater honour. He had been chosen lecturer at the Temple Church about a year before his death.

“He continued constant to the Church of England, a

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\* “Suffolk,” p. 62.

champion of the needful use of the Liturgy, and for the privileges of Ordination to belong to Bishops alone. Unmoveable he was in the principles of loyalty. Witness this instance : O. P., with some show of respect unto him, demanded the Bishop's judgment (*non plus't it seems himself*), in some business, to whom he returned, ‘ My Lord, the best counsel I can give you is, give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.’ ” The Bishop's funeral sermon was preached by Dr. John Gander, who wrote his memorial, and succeeded him in the Bishoprick of Exeter.”

In the spring of 1659, the first and only Parliament of Richard, the son of Oliver Cromwell, was dissolved, after which those members of the Long Parliament, who had sat since 1653, were summoned by the Republican leaders. Of this new Parliament Lenthall was chosen speaker, and a Council of State was formed. Richard then left Whitehall. Lambert dissolved the new Parliament, which was not *en rapport* with the Army, in the fall of the year. During these confusions Royalist intrigues were set on foot, and also Royalist brochures, from the prolific pens of anonymous scribes, began to make their appearance. But for the present the rising hopes of the exiled house were doomed to disappointment, by the sudden resurrection of what Fuller called “the long-lasting Parliament, so often exploded, so often dead and buried, twice garbled, twice turned out, and twice restored.” This body was sarcastically called “the Rump,” though it continued daily to increase in numbers. A tax of £100,000 per month was levied for the support of the Government, and a new Oath was framed early in January of the next year (1660) to

compel the people to swear not only that they should bear faith and true allegiance to the Commonwealth of England, and the present Parliament, but that they should also renounce and abjure all allegiance to Charles II. and the whole Royal Family. This is called “the Oath of Abjuration.

This oath had been imposed in the previous autumn on the officers, and it was proposed to apply it to all those who should join the Rump. Monk, who had just arrived in London from the North, declined to take it, when tendered to him, and Lenthall contrived to pass it by feigning indisposition. The returning tide of Royalist feeling (which set in, against the Rump-abjurors) condemned it. About this time, in the month of February, our Author put out a pamphlet, which took this topic for its subject-matter, under the nom-de-plume of “A Lover of His Native Country.” Monk’s famous historic letter, which declared for a free Parliament, came out the 11th of the same month. One edition quickly succeeded another, and Fuller’s name was appended to the third one, which also contained “Declarations of cities, counties, &c., for cessation of civil strife and a free Parliament.” As this exceedingly shrewd and well-timed publication has a distinctive historical interest and carried with it considerable weight at this important crisis, we will insert it here in extenso. It is taken from the only copy (the third edition) I have seen in the British Museum, and it is bound up with other collections of papers, which include representations, addresses, petitions, from London, Westminster, and all the different counties—twenty-nine in all—presented to the General of the Army, and Speaker of the House. A full and free

Parliament was boldy demanded by them all in spirited terms.\*

“ Our nation, which long since hath lost the *Lustre* and *Well-Being*, now at last struggleth for the *Life* and *Being* thereof. Our many (temporal) miseries are reducible to two principal Heads—

“ Daily { 1. *Decrease of Trading.*  
2. *Increase of Taxes*, so that every hour the  
*Burden* growtheth weightier, and the *Back*  
of our nation weaker to support it.

“ 2. Tis sad to see in Cloathing Countreys, what swarms there are of poor people, the true object of charity: if any were as *able* to *give*, as they worthy to receive *relief*: for they would work and *can* work, yet *cannot* work because there are none to employ them.

“ 3. As for the Sea (which is the *Land of Port-towns*) it returneth small benefit; for since *Dunkirk* was ours (more to the credit than benefit of our nation) the fire of *Sea-robberies* is removed out of the *Chimney*, and scattered about the *House*, not less *destructive*, but more *diffusive*: so that our Merchants could better guard themselves against the *single staple of pirates*, than many lesser once, sprung since everywhere, the cause why rich men will not (as poor cannot) adventure.

“ 4. Our second *misery* is increase, yea, *superfetation* of Taxes, so long as so numerous an army is maintained. For though some of their *souldiers* will preach *gratis* (conscientious to take nothing for that which they know is worth nothing), yet none will fight at so cheap a rate.

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\* “ An alarum to the Counties of England and Wales, with the Ab-renunciation of the Oath, by Tho. Fuller, B.D ,” pp. 66-73.

"5. Some will say that what the Souldier receiveth with one hand he returneth with another, expending his pay in victuals, cloaths, &c., whereby coin by *circulation* is continued in our country. This I deny : for some grandees greate ned by the times, have made their monies over in *Banks* beyond the Seas, which are put into *Mortmain*, or a *Dead-hand*, whereby no profit accre weth to our Commonwealth. Others having gotten estates of *Lords*, live after the rate *Yeomen*, whose discretion therein is to be commended, for proportioning their expenses (for fear of *after claps*) rather according to their original than present condition.

"6. The increase of Taxes must inevitably produce the ruine of our nation. For though there be still wealthy men left (as they show it in their *cowardice* and fear to engage for the general good), yet they have grown thinner every day, whilst such as are left no root of their own, rather than they will *either* will turn *suckers* on the *stock* of others. So that the greatest happiness rich men can promise to themselves, is only to be *last* devoured, though the comfort of the lateness will not countervail the sadness for the certainty of their destruction. Indeed it is miraculous that our nation hath subsisted so long, and few there that would believe that the whole *candle* of our wealth could last so long, as we have beheld it *burning* in the *socket*, but now giving the last blaze, if God be not merciful, and men discreet to prevent it.

\* "7. Pass we from the sad malady to the sole remedy thereof—I say *sole*, not exclusively of Divine miraculous

power, but according to humane apprehension, this is a *Free* and *full Parliament*. Indeed, *Free-Parliament* is a *Tautology*, like a *reasonable man*, who, if not *reasonable*, is no *man*: as the other, if not *free*, no *Parliament*. But the late frequent forces put on *Parliaments* hath made the needless *Epethite* become *necessary*, to express what kind of Parliament we desire. Not such in which every word must be spoken under *correction of the sword*, but wherein every member, without fear of violence (to interrupt or dissolve them), may follow the dictates of their own judgments.

“8. Nor ought a Parliament only bee *free* from force, but also from any *Abjurations*, or previous engagements. Let them take heed of renouncing anything, save what is sinful in itself, as the forsaking of the *world, flesh, and Devil*, as was solemnly promised for them in their Baptism. But it is bad to bee busie with other *Ab-renunciations*, especially of the *Royal Family*.

“9. Look backward, and we may say with *David*, ‘*The vows of the Lord* are upon us.’ I mean on so many of us as are of fifty years of age. The Oath of *Supremacy* (not to mention the *Covenant*) is the Eldest Brother, to whom the inheritance of our Consciences do belong.

\* “10. Look forwards, it *limiteth God’s Providence*, which is an hainous offence: wee know not what a day, a month, year, &c., may bring forth. This Age has the least reason of any to meddle with the edge-tools of such Oathes, which in a *short* (but *strict*) time hath made so many strange things, that now nothing is strange unto us. Have we not seen

*O Cromwell* from a private gentleman *gradatim* ascend to bee Protector of three nations, and by his courage and Wisdome rather than any right: a more absolute power possessed by, and larger tribute payed to, him, than to any king in *England*. His son and successor (counted bad by many for his goodness and milde spirit) for eight months was congratulated by the most considerable persons of our nation. Now if some twenty years since an Oath had been tendered unto us to abjure the Family of *Cromwells* from ever having the supream magistracy in our nation: such an oath would have seemed safe, but yet it was not lawful to take it, because none knew what was in the *Womb of Teeming* time, though utterly improbable to our belief.

“ 11. Besides, the imposers of this Oath may miss the mark they propound to themselves, viz., assurance of their own, and discovery of the opposite Party: for many now pass not for taking or breaking of any oath, and assurance of such is hard in keeping, and indeed not worth the having. Others will behold the oath as temporary, and expiring with the power of the Imposers. As for the conscientious indeed. Effusing it out of pure principles of piety, it is a barbarous act for persons in power to turn Executioners, to strangle tender consciences, whose cordial fear of an Oath should be encouraged.

\* “ 12. As the *Parliament* must be *free*, no *Vassal*, but enfranchised from the sword, so must it bee full, no *Cripple*, but entire and compleat in all the members thereof. Our Land hath lately groaned under the most grievous *Monopoly* as ever was, or can be, when a handful of men have

grasped to themselves the *representing* of a whole (not to say three) Nation, most of them being but *Burgesses*, who, though equal in *Votes*, are not equal in their *Representation* with the Knights of the Shires. If they presume that the rest *excluded* by them (far more considerable for Birth, Estates, Number, Love of the People, and what not?), are virtually *included* in them, it is an intolerable Presumption. That which pertaineth to all, should be handled by all, is a Truth so clear and strong, that they must offer a *Rape* to their own *Reason* that deny it. Such also is this maxim, *unrepresented, unconcluded*. So that if so few have in them the *notion* of a Parliament, it is a bare *notion* indeed, especially seeing this handful of men were (say the Cavaliers) *dissolved* by the death of the King: *dissolved*, said *Cromwell*, by the sword: *dissolved* (say some *Great ones*) by an act of their own (entered into the *Journall Book of the Parliament*): *dissolved*, must their own *Consciences* say, by their voluntary accepting of Elections in later *Parliaments*.

“ 13. Now the members of a *Free* and *full Parliament* (the onely Hope of Humane help) ought thus to be qualified:

“ 1. *Let them be godly, and well affected indeed, and not in the canting language of the Times.*

“ 2. *Men of Estates, who will be tender in taxing others, as striking them through themselves, whilst such who bear nothing can not know how much they burden others, as if paying were as easie as voting, and Money as free as words.*

“ 3. *Men of Spirits, no dull souls, all the sparks of whose activity are quenched in their own flegm.*

“ 4. *No gainers by the continuance of the army.* Demetrius the silver-smith was no fool (whatever else he was) so sticking for the shrine of Diana, by which craft he got his gain.

“ 5. *Men of Moderation, a quality not opposed to Diligence, but to Violence; not unactive men, but regulating their activity.*

“ 14. This their moderation must appear in considering all *Interests*, seeing there be no two *Interests* in the nation *contemptible*, which if united and twisting their discontents together, cannot draw trouble on all the rest. Especially the *Sectarian* (though presented, I believe, by their party through a *Multiplying Glass*) are considerable, on a politick score, of their numbers and pious account of their conscience: for, though many of them carry the latter in their *Purses*, who, when they find the moisture of profit to fail them, will fall off like *leaves in Autumn*: yet can I not be so uncharitable but to believe that many of them (having the *heat* of their *affections* above the *light* of their judgments) follow erroneous Consciences. Besides, having gone loose so long, they must needs swell if hardly girded on a sudden.\*

“ 15. This *moderation* also must be used by all other Persons, to work themselves to be (if not *pleased*) contented with the decision of a *free Parliament*, all must sit down *Losers* save such alone, who can plead, that they have been no sinners in our nation. The grand design must be to have *none* or (if that be impossible) *as few as may be* utterly ruined. I confess *two hungry meals makes a third a glutton*, such who have long fasted

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\* P. 72.

from their detained estates, will not be onely *greedy* but *ravenous* to recover them. However, in such a general danger, men must depose their animosities, labouring first to reconcile their *spirits*, then their *persuasions*, the *latter* being at less distance than the *former*. And men must divide when they cannot get the whole, seeing few will pity his starving who will cast no bread at all, because he can recover but half his own loaf.

“ 16. It will be that such a *full P.*, is but an *Empty Parliament*, having no *House of Lords* therein ; but know if both hands of a man be bound, no hope of liberty himself : but if one be untied, it may do the brotherly office to unloose the other : let us be content to row in a *sculler* till we can get a pair of *oars*. And such surely is the ingenuity and publick spiritness of the *Peers*, that laying aside personal interest (which upon debate may appear more) they will suspend their *Rights, Immunities, and Privileges*, and submit all to the determination of a *Free Parliament* to acquiesce therein.

“ 17. God give our nation seasonably to understand their own strength, that the wars begun may be ended amongst ourselves, before Forreigners become the *Arbitrators* of our differences, who will demand great *wages*, for little work, yea, and turn their owne *Paymasters* thereof. And may that *Great General*\* (whose intentions long have *stood in the dark* to our nation, whilst our Nation’s *desires* were all the while in light to him) understand that *Vox Populi* is *Vox Dei*. and interpret, that God calleth unto him by the *Declaration*

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\* General Monck, so instrumental in bringing about the restoration.

of all the *Counties* to be chiefly instrumental in asserting our Liberties, and we shall have cause for ever to bless the day of his nativity. \*

“ 18. Indeed had Providence fixed our Nativities under the Duke of Muscovy, whose *List* is his subjects’ *Law*, we would (because we *must*) work ourselves patiently to the obedience of his power, but seeing God hath given in with St. Paul, to be *freeborn*, Acts xx. ; (though also with the *Centurion* we have *given great summs*, not to *obtain*, but *contrive their freedome*) let us not tamely loose our birthright, and vigorously endeavour their preservation.

“ 19. The story is well known of the old woman, who, having but a small parcel of wood, would leasurably roast her Goose stick by stick, till her wood was all burnt, : nd her Goose still raw. If the several counties singly engage one after another, all will be overthrown, and nothing effected as to our relief. Let the two and fifty shires of England and Wales (with the City of London, which is eminently two and fifty more) be all as one, and unanimously advance the work, and not doe as they dealt with poor Cheshire,† using it as *Joab* used *Uriah*, putting him forward on action, and then falsely retreating from him, and leaving him a prey to his enemies. But I hope our old *Shipwracks* will be new *Seamarks* to us documented by former monuments, to steer a course for the general good.

“ 20. There is no Englishman so inconsiderable, but he may at the least in a single capacity, be *contributive* to the happiness of his *Native Country*, the *wise* with their *brains*, the

\* P. 73.

† This alludes to the abortive insurrection, which took place in Cheshire, under Sir George Booth, in the month of August.

rich with their *purses*, the learned with their *pens*, the strong with their *persons*, all with their *Prayers*. And if now they suffer this opportunity which God puts into their hands to slip through their fingers, they may hereafter have more years to *bemoan* their *folly*, than *minutes* to amend their misery, it being better now to say, we *will not*, than three years hence to say *we cannot pay our Taxes.*"\*

The *Alarum* is taken from a collection of addresses, bearing the title "*a happy handful, or green hopes in the blacie: in order to a Harvest of the several shires humbly petitioning or heartily declaring for Peace.*" It is certainly a Fullerian looking title, being inscribed with our Author's favourite motto, "Seek peace and follow after it," Ps. xxxiv. 14. The publisher was John Williams, the well-known firm of the Cavalier Ministers, at the sign of the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1660, and the dedicatory epistle is signed by him, though probably composed by Fuller, being addressed to "His Highness, the Lord General Monck." "What formerly was in Single Arrows is here bound in a sheaf. I conceive it good that by such conjunction they might mutually reflect light one on another. Posterity will probably be pleased to look back on such passages. Some love to see the little coats they then did wear as children. Alas, these all were then in the infancy of our liberty, now grown a stripling. God send it to be a man! Yet they differ rather in sound than in sense, variously expressing the same matter. So many men, and but one mind, is admirable: prompted certainly by the spirit of unity inditing

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\* This may have reference to the resolution of the Common Council of London.

them. Factious petitions gave the beginning, and loyal declaration must give the end to our miseries. But here is the difference, the first was made by the *sense*, these by the cream of our nation. Æneas did beg the boon of the Sybil, that she would not write her oracles (according to her usual course) in leaves of Trees blown away with every wind.

“These Declarations were formerly written in leaves or single papers, which are soon lost: not to say the best of papers so printed are oft consigned to the worst of uses. This is the way to preserve and to propagate them. I remember the verse of the poet:

“*Singula cum valeant sunt meliora simul.*”

Take each of them asunder, good as either,

Then needs they must be best, all put together.

What (as single stars) was good, must be best in a constellation. God happily perfect, what is so hopefully begun by your honour, though my voice is too weak to be the echo to the sound of the whole nation.”

The first treatise in the Collection is “An Express from Knights and Gentlemen of Cheshire, now engaged with Sir George Booth, to the City and Citizens of London, and all other Free men of England”; and the final tractate in it is a “Declaration of the nobility and gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London, Tuesday, April 24th, 1660,” and is signed by one marquis, nine earls, four viscounts, five lords, followed by Thomas Fuller, Bishop of Kerry, Sir William Compton, Sir Francis Vane, Dr. Morley, Dr. Warmisty, Dr. King, Jeremy Taylor, D.D., and many others; but our Author’s name is conspicuous by its absence. Possibly this was owing to Fuller’s absence on the Continent, at the Hague. It acknowledges the good work of

General Monck, professes confidence in a council, and prays “that all mention of factions, and all rancour and animosities may be thrown in and buried like rubbish under the foundation.”

Fuller regards the 11th February, 1660, as the turning point in the salvation of the Nation’s history—then the spring was ushered in. “I confess the 11th of March,” he says, in his “Mixt Contemplations in Better Times,” “is generally beheld as the first day of spring (O.S.), but hereafter London (and in it all England) may date its vernal heat (after a long winter of woes and wars) from the 11th of February. On which day so many *boon* fires (the best *new lights* I ever saw in that city) were made: although I believe the fagots themselves knew as much as some who laid them on, for what purpose those fires were made.” These rejoicings were caused by General Monck’s letter, “who” as Pepys says, “did stand for the filling up of the House.” It was very strange how the countenance of the men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half-an-hour’s time.

“In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow Bells and all the bells in the Churches as we went home were a ringing. The common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires! there being fourteen between St. Dunstan’s and Temple Bar, and at Strand-Bridge, I could at one time tell thirty-one fires.”

On the 25th April, 1660, the new Parliament met, and in anticipation of this great national event, our Author appeared once more in print. True to the last in his aptitude for selecting felicitous titles for his books, a greater difficulty perhaps than some people may think, he concluded a series already begun. Before he had published “Good Thoughts in Bad

'Times,' 'Good Thoughts in Worse Times,' 'Mixt Contemplations on These Times,' and now he winds up these personal observations and Meditations by a new work 'Mixt Contemplations in Better Times.' Fuller himself gives us the reason why he chose this somewhat eccentric title. It was printed at London for John Williams, 1660, 12mo, and Fuller's favourite text is inscribed on the title-page, 'Let your moderation be known to all men, the Lord is at hand.' There are two dedicatory epistles, one to the virtuous Lady, the Lady Monck, and the other to the courteous reader. These Contemplations are fifty in number. The subject of the first being 'Play an after-game,' and that of the fiftieth being on 'Name and Thing.' Fuller thus addresses Lady Monck: 'I had the happiness (some sixteen years since) to be Minister of that Parish,\* wherein your Ladyship had your nativity, and this I humbly conceive doth afford me some title to dedicate my weak endeavours to your Honour.'

"It is notoriously known in our English Chronicles that there was an Ill May Day, Anno Dom., 1517, in the nineth year of King Henry the 8, wherein much mischief was done in London, the lives of many lost, and Estates of more Confounded.

"This last Good May Day hath made plentifull amends for that *evil one*, and hath laid a foundation for the Hapiness of an almost ruined *Church and State*: which as under God it was effected by the Prudence and valour of your

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\* This lady was the daughter of a farrier in the Strand, and Fuller therefore alludes to his connection with the Savoy, 1642 and 1643. The Contemplations contain also several eulogistic notices of her husband, in connection with the Siege of Exeter.

Noble and most Renowned *Husband*, so you are eminently known to have had a *finger*, yea an hand, yea an *arme*, happily *instrumental* therein. God reward you with Honour here, and Glory hereafter, which is the desire of millions in the three nations, and amongst them of, your honour's most humble servant, THOMAS FULLER. Zion College, May 2, 1660."

To the Courteous Reader he writes : " I justly presume thee too much *Christian* and *Gentleman* to trample on him who prostrates himself. I confesse myself subject to just censure that I have not severally sorted these which are 1, Of Scripture : 2, Historical ; 3, Occasionall ; 4, Personall ; setting such Distinctly by themselves, which now are composedly heaped, or rather huddled together.

" This I confess was caused by my haste, the Presse hourly craving with the daughter of the Horse-Leach, *give, give*.

" However such a confused *Medley* may passe for the lively embleme of These Times, the subject of this our book, and when *these Times* shall be reduced into better order, my book (at the next impression) may be digested into better method, meantime, I remain thy servant in Christ Jesus, THOMAS FULLER."

The Copy from which we have made these selections is in the British Museum, and purports to be the "Gift of George III."; it contains twenty-nine pages : to which is appended "Mixt Contemplations on These Times," which occupy seventy-six pages more, containing fifty meditations, apparently Fuller's favourite number. They are one and all characterised by that moderation, for which our Author was so pre-eminent—that "sweet-reasonableness" (Phil. iv. 5),

as a cultured scholar has paraphrased it. In the Revised Version, the verse is translated "Let your forbearance (which is Alford's rendering) be known unto all men." And in its marginal reading the word *τὸ επιεικὲς* is rendered "gentleness." Dean Alford explains it as *reasonableness\** *of dealing*, wherein not strictness of legal right, but consideration for one another, is the rule of practice. The idea contained in this word, with its many sided meanings, gives us the true secret of Fuller's career, and it is so fully illustrated in this charming little volume, as to bear out S. T. Coleridge's judgment with regard to our Author's marvellous sensibleness and unprejudiced mind. "The motto," says Mr. Russell in his "Memorials," "speaks the spirit of the author and of his meditations. He was always the same, and if now his loyalty leaped for joy, his moderation did not loose itself in any extravagances. He was for a real and not verbal accommodation between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties. He pleaded for a general toleration. He conceded all that he could with truth as well as charity, to the intentions of those who had been led away beyond themselves in the late confusion, whilst some could be more severe against those who ate the bread of others and who lived only on faction. He commented upon the past, and the light of God's Providence, and justified His ways Who brings light out of our darkness, order out of our chaos."—(Memorials, p. 291.) We will select a few speci-

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\* Aristotle (*Ethics Nicom.* x. 6) defines it to be that which fills up the necessary deficiencies of *law*, which is *general*, by dealing with particular cases as the law-giver would have dealt with them if he had been by. As it was Fuller's favorite word and it so often occurs, it is worth while to see the force of it.

mens. Speaking of woman's influence based on the activity of the daughter of Shallum, the son of Holohesh, in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 12), he says, "Our weaker sex hath been over strong in making and widening the breaches in our English Zion, both by their purses and persuasions. To redeem their credit, let them hereafter be as active in building, as heretofore they were in breaking down."

"Such wives, who not only lie in the bosoms, but lodge in the affections of loving husbands, who are empowered with places of command, joining importunity to their opportunity may be marvellously instrumental to the happiness of our nation.

"We read of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 25, that none was like him, who sold himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel, his wife, stirred up. By the same proportion that person will prove peerless in piety who hath a godly consort in his bosom, seasonably to incite him, who is so forward in himself to all honourable actions."\*

Under the head of "Miraculous Cure," we have an historical allusion. "We read (Luke xiii. 11) of a woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. This woman may pass for a lively emblem of the English nation: from the year of our Lord, 1642 (when our wars first began), unto this present 1660, are eighteen years in my arithmetic: all which time our land hath been bowed together past possibility of standing upright. Some will say that the weight of heavy taxes have caused this crookedness. But, alas! this.

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\* "Med." 1.

is the least and lightest of all things I reflect at in this allusion. It is chiefly the weight of our sins (Heb. xii. 1) which doth so easily beset us. Our mutual malice and animosities have caused this incurvation.

“A pitiful posture wherein the face is made to touch the feet, and the back is set up above the head. God in due time set us right and keep us right, that the head may be in its proper place, next the neck of the nobility, then the breast of the gentry, the loins of the merchants and citizens, the thighs of the yeomanry, the legs and feet of artificers and day-labourers. As for the Clergy (here by me purposely omitted) what place soever shall be assigned them, if lowly, God grant them patience : if high, give humility unto them. When then our land in God’s leisure shall be restored to its former rectitude, and set up right again, then I hope she may leave off her *steel bodies* which have galled her with wearing them so long, and return again to her peaceable condition.” \*

In the Meditation, “After-born,” our Author speaks of the condition of the country. “But their mother England, doth justly bemoan the sad difference betwixt her present and former condition, when she enjoyed full and free trade without payment of taxes, save so small they seemed rather an acknowledgment of their allegiance than a burden to their estate ; when she had the court of a King, the House of Lords, yea, and the Lord’s house, decently kept, constantly frequented, without falsehood in doctrine, or faction in discipline. God of His goodness restore unto us so much of these things, as may consist with His glory and

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\* “ Med.” 2.

our good." Again, under the title "Freely, freely" he writes, "a grave divine in the West Country (familiarly known unto me) conceiving himself over-taxed, repaired to one of the Governors of the King's garrison to move for some mitigation. The Governor perceiving the satin lace of this divine to be torn, 'Fie, fie,' said he, 'that a man of your quality should wear such a cap, the Rats have gnawed it.' 'Oh no, Sir,' answered he, 'the Rates have gnawed it.'

"The print or impression of the teeth of taxes is visible in the clothes of many men, yea it hath corroded holes in many men's estates. Yea, as Hatto, Archbishop of Mentz is reported to have been eaten by rats, so the vermin of taxes, if continuing, is likely to devour our nation.

"I care not how much I can let blood, so it be not by the adventure of an empiric, but advice of a physician, who, I am sure, will take no more ounces from me than may consist with my safety, and need doth require. Such the policy and piety of the present Parliament,\* they will impose no more payments than the necessity of the estate doth extort. The rather because they are persons (blessed be God) of the primest quality of the nation, and let us bleed through their own veins, the greatest part of the payments they impose lighting first on their own estates."†

The title of his xixth Meditation is "Give and Take." The Archbishop of Spalatro, when Dean of Windsor, very affectionately moved the Prebendaries thereof to contribute bountifully towards relieving a distressed foreigner, reporting him a person of much worth and want, to whom one of the

\* Which met April 27th, 1660.

† "Med." xiv.

company replied *Qui suadet sua det.* Let him who persuadeth others give something of his own. But the Archbishop, who was as covetous as ambitious, and whose charity had a *tongue* without *hands*, would not part with a penny. The *Episcopal party* doth desire and expect that the Presbyterian should remit of his rigidness, in order to an expedient betwixt them. The *Presbyterians* require that the Episcopal side abate of their austerity to advance an accommodation. But some on both sides are so wedded to their wilfulness, stand so stiff in their judgments, are so high and hot in their passions, they will not part with the least punctilio in their opinions and practices.

Such men's judgments cannot pretend to the exactness of the Gibeonites (*Judges xx. 16*), that they hit the mark of the truth at an hair's breadth, and fail not, yet they will not abate an hair's breadth in order to unity ; they will take all but tender nothing, make motions with their *mouths*, but none with their *feet*, for peace, but not stirring a step towards it.

Oh, that we could see some proffers and performances of condescension on either side, and then let others who remain obstinate, and will embrace no peace, be branded with Pharez (*Gen xxxviii. 29*). The breach be upon them.\*

The next Meditation (xxth) is on "Charity, Charity." "In my Father's time there was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, a native of Carlton, in Leicestershire, where the people (through some occult cause) are troubled with a wharling in their throats, so that they cannot plainly pronounce the letter *r*. This scholar, being conscious of his infirmity, made a Latin oration of the usual expected length

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\* "Med." xix.

without an *r* therein: and yet did he not only select words fit for his mouth, easy for pronunciation, but also as pure and expressive for signification to show that men might speak without being beholden to the dog-letter.

“Our English pulpits, for the last eighteen years, have had in them too much caninal anger, vented by snapping and snarling spirits on both sides. ‘But if ye bite and devour one another (saith the Apostle, Gal. v. 15), take heed ye be not devoured one of another.’

“Think not that our sermon must be silent if not satirical, as if divinity did not afford smooth subjects enough to be seasonably insisted on in this juncture of time. Let us try our skill whether we cannot preach without any dog-letter or biting word; the art is half learned by intending and wholly by serious endeavouring it. I am sure such soft sermons will be more easy for the tongue of the preacher in pronouncing them, less grating to the ears of pious people that hear them, and most edifying to the heart of both speaker and hearers of them.”\*

On the title “But one Favourite” he speaks of the one old historical Church of the country, which is the National Church. England hath but one Isaac, or legitimate religion of the Church, namely, the Protestant,† as the doctrine

\* “Med.” xx.

† It may be remarked here that the word Protestant does not occur either in the Book of Common Prayer or any of the formularies of the English Church. When, therefore, Fuller uses the word “Protestant” he means the related attitude of the Catholic Church in this country with regard to Rome. When Rome alters, or returns to the old Catholic faith of the undivided Church of East and West, then our Church will cease to be Protestant, for she will have nothing to protest against.

thereof is established in the Thirty-nine Articles. But how many spurious ones she hath (whether six, sixty, or six score) I neither do know, nor will enquire, nor will I load my book and trouble the reader with their new, numerous, and hard names.

"Oh may the State be pleased so far to reflect on this Isaac as to settle the solid inheritance upon him. Let the Protestant religion only be countenanced by the law, be owned and acknowledged for the received religion of the nation.

"As for the other sects (the sons of Keturah) we grudge not that gifts be bestowed upon them. Let them have a toleration (which I assure you is a great gift indeed) and be permitted peaceably and privately to enjoy their conscience, both in opinion and practices. Such favour may safely (not to say ought justly to) be afforded unto them, so long as they continue peaceably in our Israel and disturb not our estate."

The author of the anonymous "Life" has inserted this latter passage in his biography : " Both for the cautiousness of the expressions he used, and which those times required, and by which discreet and amicable way our differences and breaches were likeliest to be made up ; the disguises of words, to the undeviating of a misled people into the right way of their felicity, who had all along been driven with speeches and such like Parliament oratory, being the easiest method of introducing that peace which by the same arts was violated. Storms begin from, and end in, calms ; the gentle breathings of soft and temperate spirits commencing the outrages of other men's violent passions, and terminating and stopping their fury."\*

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\* "Life," p. 94.

This Meditation thus concludes : “This gift granted unto them, they need not be sent away into the East or any other country. If they dislike their condition they will either leave the land and go over seas of their own accord, or else (which is rather to be desired and hoped for) they will blush themselves out of their follies, and by degrees cordially reconcile themselves to the Church of England.”

Speaking of the introduction of unaccustomed ceremonies into our Church services, Fuller has some very pertinent remarks, which it would have been well to remember in our days. “Let such new practices,” he says, in his xxiii. Meditation, “Try and Trust,” “as are to be brought into our Church be for a time candidates and probationers on their good behaviour, to see how the temper of the people will fit them, and they *fadge* with it, before they be publicly enjoined.

“Let them be like St. Paul’s Deacons (1 Tim. iii. 10), first be proved, then be used if found blameless. I cannot, therefore, but commend the discretion of such statesmen, who, knowing the Directory to be but a stranger, and considering the great inclination the generality of our nation had to Common Prayer, made their temporary act to stand in force but for three years.”

This is the way our Author writes of moderate men in his xxxiii. Meditation, under the title “No Remedy but Patience” :— “Once a gaoler demanded of a prisoner newly committed to him, whether he were or no a Roman Catholic? ‘No,’ answered he. ‘What then,’ said he, ‘are you an Anabaptist?’ ‘Neither,’ replied the prisoner. ‘What,’ said the other, ‘are you a Brownist (*i.e.*, an Independent) or a Quaker?’ ‘Nor so,’ said the man, ‘I am a Protestant

without wealt or garb, or any additions, equally opposite to all heretics and sectaries.' ‘Then,’ said the gaoler, ‘get you into the dungeon; I will afford no favour to you who shall get no advantage by you. Had you been of any of the other religions some hope I had to gain by the visits of such as are of your own persuasion, whereas now you will prove to me but an unprofitable prisoner.’

“This is the misery of moderation; I recall my word (seeing misery properly must have sin in it). This is an affliction attending moderate men, that they have not an active party to side with them and favour them.”

It became very soon apparent how lamentably Fuller’s counsels for moderation were either forgotten or ignored. “In the enthusiasm of the day,” as Pepys said, “everybody was willing to submit to anything.” And again he remarks, “The old Clergy talk of being sure of their lands again.”

There is a story told by Calamy that Dr. Wilkins, when made Bishop, waited upon Bishop Cosin and others to attend his consecration dinner. The discourse was about moderation on the one hand, and a vigorous supporting of the ecclesiastical constitution on the other. Bishop Wilkins frankly told his Lordship that for his part it was his apprehension that he who was by many (with ill-nature enough) reflected upon by his moderation, was a better friend than his Lordship, who was for vigorously supporting the constitution. Bishop Cosin seeming surprised, Bishop Wilkins added this as the reason of his assertion: “For while you, my Lord, are for setting the top on the piqued head downwards, you won’t be able to keep it up any longer than you continue whipping and scourging, whereas I,” says he, “am for setting the broad end downward, and so it will stand of

itself." " 'Tis a pity," adds Calamy, "this good Bishop died so soon as 1672, and did not live to see the revolution in 1688."

What Fuller's views were with regard to the impending changes can be readily gathered from his Contemplation, "Moderate may Meet." "When St. Paul was at Athens (Acts xvii. 18) then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics encountered him."

Some will say, why there was no mention here of the Peripatetics and Academics, both notable sects of philosophers, and men numerous in the city of Athens. The answer is this : These being persons who acted with more moderate principles were contented to be silent, though not concurring in their judgments, whilst the Epicureans and Stoics were violent in the extremes, the first for the Anarchy of Fortune, the other for the Tyranny of Fate.

"Peace in our land, like St. Paul, is now likely to be encountered with two opposite parties, such as are for the liberty of Commonwealth, and such as are for an absolute Monarchy in the full height thereof. But I hope neither of both are so considerable in their number, parts and influence on the people, but that the Moderate Party, advocates for Peace, will prevail for the settling thereof."

Fuller thus enjoins the duty of forgiving and forgetting upon all parties. After alluding to the fact of Joseph calling his eldest son Manasseh, *i.e.* "forgetting," he says, "if God should be pleased to settle a general peace betwixt all parties in our land, let us all name our next born child (it will fit both sexes) Manasseh, that is "forgetting." Let us forget all our plunderings, sequestrations, injuries offered unto us, or suffered by us. The best oil is said to have no taste, *i.e.*,

no tang, though we carry a simple and single remembrance of our losses unto the grave, it being impossible to do otherwise (except we raze the faculty of memory, root and branch, out of our mind), yet let us not keep any record of them with the reflection of revenge."

Coming to personal reflections our Author thus speaks in "Hear me Out": "I must confess myself to be (what I ever was) for a Commonwealth: but give me leave to state the meaning of the word, seeing so much mischief hath taken covert under the homonymy thereof."

"A Commonwealth and a King are no more contrary than the trunk or body of a tree and the top branch thereof; there is a republic included in every monarchy. The Apostle speaks of some Ephesians in chap. ii. 12, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel; that commonwealth is neither aristocratical nor democratical, but hath one sole and single person, Jesus Christ, the supreme head thereof. May I live (if it may stand with God's good will and pleasure) to see England a Commonwealth in such a posture, and it will be a joyful object to all that are peaceable to our nation."\*

Practical experience in clerical life will testify to the truth of our Author's conclusion as to the advantage of public catechising. It is a contemplation on "Feed my Lambs." "What may be the cause," he says, "why so much cloth so soon changeth colour? It is because it was never wet wadded, which giveth the fixation to a colour, and setteth it in the cloth.

"What may be the reason why so many now-a-days are carried about with every wind of doctrine, even to scour

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\* "Contempl." xiv.

every point in the compass round about? Surely it is because they were never well catechised in the principles of religion.

“ Oh ! for the ancient and primitive ordinance of catechising ; every youth can preach, but he must be a man indeed who can profitably catechise.

“ Indeed sermons are like whole joints for men to manage, but catechising is mince-meat, shred into questions and answers (fit for children to eat, and easy for them to digest), whilst the minister may also, for the edification of those of riper years, enlarge and dilate himself on both as he seeth just occasion.”\* Fanaticism and wilful separation he scrupled not to condemn most cordially and to expose most effectually.” Speaking of an “ Ill match ” he says, “ how sad then is the condition of many sectaries in our age : which in the same instance have a fog of ignorance in their judgments, and a tempest of violence in their affections, being too blind to go right, and yet too active to stand still.”

We began this chapter with allusion to the dawn of the Restoration. This is the way in which Fuller applies this preparative nature of twilight. “ Blessed be God, we are now brought into a better condition ; yea, we are past the equilibrium : the beam beginning to break on the better side, and our hopes to have the mastery of our despairs. God grant this twilight may prove the *Crepusculum Matutinum* forerunning the rising of the sun, and increase of our happiness.”†

This last of our Author’s Contemplations does not seem to have attained the same popularity as the two previous

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\* ‘Contempl. xlix.

† 1125.

series. It fell on a time of great tension and excitement, and a tidal wave of reaction and enthusiasm, sweeping over the counties, as is evident from the "Alarum," carried all before it. Fuller's lessons of moderation were not therefore quite *en rapport* with the crisis. The Editor of Pickering's reprints of these three series of contemplations in 1830, says of these works, "They ill deserve the neglect they have experienced : for they abound in original thoughts and beautiful similes, displaying in almost every line the genius for which their Author was distinguished. But this is far from being their only merits. Fuller was a divine of the strictest sincerity and most fervent piety, and this work bears the strongest evidence that his mind rarely wandered from the sacred purport of his ministry. From every event of his life, and many passages in history, he drew conclusions illustrative either of the holy writings, or of his duties which they inculcate ; and if it be the characteristic feature of wit to find resemblances between things apparently dissimilar, there is hardly a page in these *Thoughts* which is not as remarkable for that quality as for the devout object to which it is applied." The same writer adds that "the beauty, wisdom and piety of the pieces collected in this volume would alone be sufficient to secure him celebrity and renown, for few will peruse them without being convinced that they did not derive a temporary claim to attention from being written under particular political circumstances, but that they are 'thoughts' calculated to strengthen the faith, and increase the morality in all 'Times,' and in all ages."

In the same year Fuller is supposed to have put forth his ingenious *Dialogue of the Birds and Flowers*, evidently allegorizing the events of his day. "Ornithologie, or the

Speech of Birds, with a dedicatory epistle to the Worshipful Roger Le Strange, by J.S.,” probably John Stafford. “ Anthologia, or the Speech of Flowers, with a dedication to my much honoured friend, William Stafford, Esquire, Merchant of Bristol, also by J. S., partly morall, partly mystical. Being a historical relation of these times. By Thomas Fuller, Bachelor in Divinity, London. Printed for Thomas Rooke, and are to be sold at the sign of the Holy Lamb, at the East End of St. Pauls’s Churchyard, 1660,” 12mo.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

FULLER'S "WORTHIES OF ENGLAND." (I.) (1660-1662.)

"God's Calendar is more complete than man's best martyrologies ; and their names are written in the Book of Life who on earth are wholly forgotten."—(*Worthies.*)



LTHOUGH it is usual to discuss this work at the conclusion of our Author's Life, by the biographer, as it is a posthumous one, and was not published till the year after his death by his son John, yet we prefer to consider it here. And this for two reasons ; first, it makes a fitting conclusion to the sequence of Fuller's works which have been passed under review in the preceding chapters : and secondly, because it was after all not only the last work, but the magnum opus of Fuller's life, a work which was being collected and arranged all through his long and chequered career ; a work which was begun as far back as when he joined Lord Hopton in the field as "Cavalier Parson," which is alluded to again and again in his various publications as on the anvil, and shortly about to appear ; a work, which is the monument of the indefatigable and unflagging energy of his active career ; a work, which he never forgot and evidently kept constantly before his eyes and close to his heart, the Benjamin of his literary aspirations, and would have been published in his lifetime, but for the unhappy dispute with Dr. Heylin and the time wasted upon it a work, which is the flower and crown of all his other works,

for which he is best known to posterity, and which we may regard as his chef d'œuvre.

It is a marvellous production for any one brain, but when we consider that it was being compiled while our Author was engaged in active ministerial work and parochial duties, and was composing other great works, such as the "Pisgah" and "Church History," with their various embellishments (all of course demanding time and attention), it must be confessed that not only were there literary "giants" in those days, but also that Fuller was par excellence one of them. No country gentleman's library should be considered complete without this magnificent work, where it can be obtained, and it is very rare and expensive, which contains the original portrait by *Loggan*, surrounded by the inscription "Thomas Fuller, S. T. P. Ætat 53, 1661," and at the head of the plate "Methodus Mater Memoriæ." Underneath this the original, and by far the best portrait, these lines occur :

"The graver here hath well thy Face designed,  
But no hand Fuller can express thy mind ;  
For that a Resurrection gives to those  
Whom Silent Monuments did long enclose."

The title is given as "The History of the Worthies of England, Endeavoured" (our Author's modest word) "by Thomas Fuller, D.D. London, Printed by J. G. W. L. and W. G. MDCLXII." And the work makes a very handsome folio.

Mr. Russell in his *Memorials*\* comments on this production, as "a work abounding in entertainment and

\* *Memorials*, p. 305.

information, and affording ample evidence of the indefatigable industry and versality of talent which distinguished the compiler, albeit the greater part of this work is more than a compilation, being replete with original anecdotes, relating to all the most eminent individuals of the age of James and Charles I. Here we converse, as it were, with Dr. Fuller upon every kind of subject, nor did he ever require any excitement, whose most sober moments were relieved with his own unparalleled facetiousness, a facetiousness never tainted with invective and malevolence. So we find that he left to King James to condemn, and to the men of Gloucestershire, once the planters thereof, to commend tobacco, "as for the praise of tobacco, with the virtues thereof, they may better be performed by the pens of such writers whose palates have tasted of the same."\*

It will be remembered that our Author had begun to collect materials for this his last and greatest work, as far back as when he was acting in the capacity of Lord Hopton's Military Chaplain, so that he must have kept its production steadily in view for a period of at least seventeen or eighteen years. It must have required a continuous preparation, which indeed is proved by the dates connected with it. Oldys notices in this volume "the main channel of his thoughts; but, through the whole course of this current, they branched out into little streams or rivulets. The said intermediate publications were mostly occasional or offered from time to time as so many little whets or stays to the keen appetites of his curious readers, while his larger and more splendid entertainments for them were getting ready."

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\* "Gloucestershire Worthies," i. p. 373.

In our preceding chapters on the “Appeal,” we shall have noticed that the dispute with Heylin laid under contribution a large portion of time which was “ordained” to be given to the “Worthies,” and but for which it would have been published in our Author’s life time. “I have a book of the *Lives of all English Worthies* (God send it good success) which had been in print if not obstructed by the intervening of this dispute.” And in the letter, which we have given, which he wrote to Dr. Cosin in 1657, he alludes to the fact that he was about to set forth a book of the *Worthies of England*.” There is no ground therefore for the unfair accusation that it was put together in haste, and only to procure some profit therefrom for its author. Even at the time of his death, which was both sudden and unexpected, all had been printed off except some twelve counties.

But if Fuller was an accomplished author, and could not restrain the cacoëthes scribendi, he was, before all this, the Divine and Parish Priest. He never lost sight of his high vocation as a Pastor, and his duty, as well as privilege, of feeding the flock of Christ, committed to his care and stewardship. This made our Author sometimes regret the time taken from his sacred vocation to bestow upon historical researches. But there was no “aggrieved parishioner” in those days; nor were their demands so exacting on the minister’s time and attention as now in this day of daily services, continuous instruction, and perpetual round of varied duties connected with parochial organization. In his *Appeal* he says: “I now experimentally find the truth of Solomon’s words, ‘Of making many books there is no end’ (Eccles. xii. 12). Not but that all perfect books (I

mean perfect in sheets, otherwise none save Scripture perfect) have Finis in the close thereof: or that any author is so irrational, but that he propounds an end to himself before he begins it; but that 'in making of many books\*' there is no end,' that is, the writers of them seldom or never do attain that end which they proposed to themselves, especially if squinting at sinister ends, as who is not flesh and blood?" Alluding to those who had to write in their own defence, he adds: "Which is my case: enough to take off my edge, formerly too keen in making multiplicity of books. I confess I have yet *One History* ready for the press, which I hope will be for God's glory and honour of our nation. This new-built ship is now on the stocks, ready to be launched: and being a vessel of 'great burden,' God send me some good adventurers to bear part of the expense. This done, I will never meddle more with making any booke of this nature. It is a provident way before writing leaves us to leave off writing, and rather because scribbling is the frequentative thereof. If then my petitioning and optative *Amen* shall meet with God's commissioning and imperative *Amen*, I will hereafter totally attend the concerns of my calling, and what directly and immediately shall tend to the advance of devotion of myself and in others, as preparatory to my dissolution out of this state of mortality."†

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\* There is an old adage,

*μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακον*,

but our Author's "Worthies" is certainly calculated to run counter to this saying, and also to reverse Dr. Johnson's contention, that only those authors are popular, whose works are to be found in pocket volumes.

† "Appeal," c. xiii.

Fuller wrote his "Appeal," as we have seen, at his new Rectory of Cranford, in Middlesex, and directly after he has settled that controversy, he set to work to complete his "Worthies," it being his intention to bring it down to the end of the year 1659, "and had therefore writ it in such language as those times of Usurpation (during the most part of which it was compiled) would suffer such a subject. It was ready for the press at the commencement of 1660—the year of the Restoration itself. But his anonymous biographer tells us that before finally printing it "he revised it over, giving Truth and his most excellent fancy their proper becoming ornaments, scope, and clearness. But neither the elevation of Usurpers, nor the depression of the Royalists, and the vice versa of it, did ever incline or sway him to additions, intercalations, or expunctions of persons, whom he hath recommended to the world as worthies : no such thing as a Pym or Protector, whom the mad world cried up for brave: drops of compassionate tears they did force from him, but his resolute ink was not to be stained by their black actions. A pen full of such would serve to blot out the whole roll of fame. This constancy of the Doctor's to his first model and main of his design doth most evidently argue his firm persuasion and belief of the reviving of the Royal cause, since he wrote the most part during those improbable times of any restitution : and he had very ill consulted his own advantage, if he had not well consulted the oracles of God." \*

Fuller was above all things intensely patriotic and English, and he was naturally proud of this his most National

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\* "Life," pp. 81-2-3.

and English literary production. He was a sincere admirer of the constitutional history of this country, both in Church and State, as well as a true lover of his native country. Palmerston used to say that a man should esteem not only his own country better than any besides, but his native county and town or village, as the case might be. Throw in devotion to the historical Church of the country, and we have a complete portrait of Fuller's ardent patriotism all round.

The design of this most interesting topographical work is thus set out: "England may not unfitly be compared to an House not *very great*, and the several shires may properly be resembled to the *rooms* thereof. Now as learned Master *Camden* and painful Master *Speed*, with others, have described the *rooms* themselves, so is it our intention, God willing, to describe the *Furniture* of those rooms; such eminent commodities, which every county doth produce, with the Persons of Quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject.

"*Cato*, that great and grave Philosopher, did commonly demand, when any new Project was propounded unto him, *Cui bono? What good would ensue in case the same was effected?* A Question more fit to be asked than facile to be answered in all undertakings, especially in the setting forth of new Books, insomuch, that they themselves who complain, that *They are too many already*, help dayly to make them more.

"Know, then, that I propound *five ends* to myself in this Book. First, *to gain some glory to God*. Secondly, *to preserve the memories of the dead*. Thirdly, *to present*

*Examples to the living.* Fourthly, *to entertain the reader with delight.* And lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess) *to procure some honest profit to myself.* If not so happy to obtain all, I will be joyful to attain some, yea, contented and thankful too, if gaining any (especially the *First*) of these Ends, the motives of my Endeavours.

“First, *glory to God*, which ought to be the aim of all our actions, though too often our bow starts, our hand shakes, and so our arrow misseth the mark. Yet I hope that our describing so good a land, with the various Fruits and fruitful varieties therein, will ingage both writer and reader, in gratitude to that God who hath been so bountiful to our nation. In order whereunto, I have not only alwayes taken, but often sought occasions, to exhort to thankfulness, hoping the same will be interpreted, no *stragling from my subject*, but *a closing with my calling*.

“Secondly, *to preserve the memories of the Dead.* A good name is an oyntment poured out, smelt where it is not seen. It hath been the lawful desire of men in all ages to perpetuate their memories, thereby in some sort revenging themselves of Mortality, though few have found out effectual means to perform it. For monuments made of wood are subject to be burnt: of glass, to be broken: of soft stone, to moulder: of marble and metal, if escaping the teeth of time, to be demolished by the hand of covetousness, so that in my apprehension the safest way to secure a memory from oblivion is (next his own virtues) by committing the same in writing to Posterity.

“Thirdly, *to present examples to the living*, having here precedents of all sorts and sizes, of men famous for *valour, wealth, wisdom, learning, Religion, and bounty to the publick*,

on which last we most largely insist. The scholar being taxed by his writing-master for idleness in his absence, made a fair defence when pleading he had neither left him *Paper* whereon, or *Copy* whereby to write. But rich men will be *without excuses*, if not expressing their bounty in some proportion. God having provided them *Paper* enough (*The poor you have always with you*) and set them *signal* examples as in our ensuing work will plainly appear."

Under the next head he confesses his subject "is but dull in itself, to tell the time and place of men's births and deaths, and therefore this bare skeleton of time, place, and person must be fleshed with some *pleasant passages*. To this intent, I have purposely interlaced (not as meat but as condiment) many delightful stories that so the reader, if he do not arise (which I hope and desire) *religiosior* or *doctior*—with more piety or learning, at least he may depart *jucundior*—with more pleasure and lawful delight."

As for his last end—compensation for his pains, he observes that it were a proper question which plain-dealing Jacob pertinently propounded to Laban, his father-in-law. "And now, when shall I provide for mine house also? Hitherto no stationer hath lost by me: hereafter it will be high time for me (all things considered) to save for myself.

"The matter following," he concludes, "may be divided into *Real* and *Personal*, though not according to the legal acceptation of the words. By *Real*, I understand the commodities and observables of every County: by *Personal*, the character of those worthy ones, who were natives thereof."

Before he discusses the different counties, which are arranged alphabetically, our Author has no fewer than

twenty-five preliminary or general chapters. Chapter II. The real topicks insisted on in the respective counties, the Manufactures, Medicinal Waters, the Wonders, the Buildings, Local Proverbs, Medicinal Herbs, Native Commodities, &c. (III.) Of the first Quaternion of Persons, viz. : 1, *Princes*; 2, *Saints*; 3, *Martyrs*; 4, *Confessours*. (IV.) Of Popes, Cardinals, and Prelates, before the Reformation; and (V.) Since the Reformation. (VI.) Of such who have been worthy Statesmen of our land, Lord Chancellors, Lord Treasurers, Admiralls, Lord Deputies of England. (VII.) Of Capital Judges and writers on the Common Law. (VIII.) Of Souldiers and Seamen, with the necessity to encourage the trade of Fishing. (IX.) Of writers on the Cannon and Civil Law, Physick, Chemistry, and Chirurgery. (X.) Writers on Philology, Divinity, Music, Romish exile writers. (XI.) Of Benefactors to the Publick, wherein also choice Charities are recommended to men of Estates, Churches, Bridges, &c. (XII.) Of memorable persons. (XIII.) The Lord Maiors of London. (XIV.) A catalogue of the Gentry of England, made in the reign of King Henry VI., why inserted in our book. (XV.) Of Shire-reeves, or Sheriffes. (XVI.) Of the Coats of Arms, affixed to such who have been Sheriffs of Counties. (XVII.) Of the often altering of Sir-names, and the various writing thereof. (XVIII.) Of Modern Battels. (XIX.) Of the number of modern shires or counties in England, and why the Worthies in this work are digested county-wayes. (XX.) The Clergy-men formerly carried the register of their birthplace in their sir-names, and why: as also that (since the Reformation) the sons of the married Clergy have been as successful as others. (XXI.) General rules for the

Author and Readers' ease. (xxii.) An accommodation to prevent exceptions about the Precedency of several Professions. (xxiii.) Of the Authors from whom our intelligence in the following work hath been derived. (xxiii.) A double division of the English Gentry ; 1, according to the nation whence they were extracted ; 2, according to the Profession whereby they were advanced. (xxiv.) Some general exceptions against the style and matter of the Author prevented. The last Chapter (xxv.) is an Apologie for the involuntary omissions in this Book.

These twenty-five chapters occupy eighty folio pages, and the discussion of these counties then begins in real earnest. Bark-shire is the first county which is treated of in pages, eighty-one to one hundred and eleven, and York is the last, from pages one hundred and eighty-five to two hundred and thirty-one. The Principality of Wales is then proceeded with and occupies sixty pages, of which the first sixteen is general, and the remainder deals with the counties, beginning with Anglesea and ending with Radnorshire. On the title-page are two texts, the first being taken from Psalm xcv. 4-5, "In His hand are the deep places of the earth ; the strength of the Hills is His also, The Sea is His : and He made it." And the second is from Prov. xxvii. 26-27, "The herbs of the Mountains are gathered : the Lambs are for thy Clothing, and the goats are the price of thy fields." This work is preluded by "a necessary Preface to the Reader," and the whole volume is concluded by a very copious alphabetical index to the Worthies.

Touching his treatment of the Principality our Author says, "It bare a debate in my serious consideration, whether a Totall omission or Defective Description of the

Principality were to be preferred, finding myself as unable to do it exactly, as unwilling to pretermit it. For first, I never was in Wales, and all know how necessary *Aὐτοψία* is to accurateness therein. Secondly, I understand not their language, and cannot go to the cost, nor dare take the State of having an Interpreter. King James was wont pleasantly to say, that he cared not though he was poor himself, so long as his Subjects were rich, as confident he could command their wealth on good conditions, and a just occasion. But indeed it matters not how meanly skill'd a writer is, so long as he hath knowing and communicative friends: my happiness in England who am quite destitute of such assistance. However, on the other side, a total omission seemed very unhandsome to make a Cypher of this large Principality. Besides England cannot be well described without Wales, such the Intimacy of Relation betwixt them, three of our English Kings being born, and many of our Prime Achievements being acted in Wales. Wherefore I resolved to endeavour my utmost in the description thereof, though sadly sensible in myself that my desires were as high as a Mountain, but my performance would fall as low (would they were half so fruitfull) as the Vallies. I had rather the Reader should take the name of that worthy Knight, from Master Camden than from me, who designing to build according to the *Italian mode* of Architecture, plucked down a good and convenient English house, preposterously destroying one and never finished the other. I hope the Reader will not be so uncharitable (I will not say indiscreet) but will allow our grains a subsistence till they will willingly vanish at the substitution of another." Fuller then concludes with his motto, "Nec Perfecte, nec Perfuntorie."

Taking then the counties *seriatim*, our Author arranges materials under the “topics” already sketched out in the preliminary chapter beginning with their natural products and so forth. Thus to select the first, Barkshire, as a specimen, ex uno disce omnes. We have first the natural commodities, Oakes, Bark, Trouts. Then the Manufactures, Clothing, the Buildings, Proverbs. He then describes persons, Princes, Saints, Martyrs, Confessors, Cardinalls, Prelates, and since the Reformation Statesmen, Souldiers, Writers, Romish Exile Writers, Benefactors to the Public, Memorable Persons, Lord Mayors, Sheriffs of Barkshire and Oxfordshire, from the times of Richard I. to Queen Elizabeth, then Sheriffs of Berkshire from Queen Elizabeth to King Charles ; concluding with the Battles. When all these topics are applied to the several counties of England and Wales, our readers may form some idea of the labour, expense, pains, research, and industry necessitated to bring such an undertaking to a successful dénouement.

But as it was not enough, Fuller’s design took in a variety of other topics, as a kind of safety valve to his literary high pressure. Even the multiplicity of topics did not satisfy the wandering pen of our Author, who has introduced into the body of the work numberless unlooked for digressions on almost every subject. He has also made the work a storehouse of much of the gossip and stories which he had picked up all over the country during his busy life, and pleasantly imported into it out of the way and well-nigh forgotten folk-lore. It is this which has made this work especially so popular both to the student and the country-gentleman. “Perused as a book of amusement” says Pro-

fessor Rogers in his article in the Edinburgh, “there are few in the English language, which a man with the slightest tincture of love for our early literature, can take up with a keener relish : while an enthusiast, whether by natural pre-disposition or acquired habit, will, like Charles Lamb, absolutely riot in their wild luxuriance.”

Speaking of certain exceptions (they are twenty-four in number) which might be taken to the style and matter of his work (Chapter xxiv.) as to referring his reader to his published works, he writes, “such references are very sparing, and I appeal to all writers of many books, (of which fault I myself am guilty) whether such references be not usual in the like cases.

“I will not add that I have passed my promise (and that is an honest man’s bond) to my former stationer, that I will write nothing for the future which was in my former books so considerable as may make them interfere one with another to his prejudice.

Another fault (exception 15) made against this book was that it was surcharged with “*Scripture observations and reflections in Divinity.*” And strange to say these occur more frequently in the “Worthies,” than in the “Church History,” whereupon Fuller quotes the use of a word used in his faculty by Luke the physician *παρόξυσμος* “dissention,” Acts xv. 39. “The Reader hath *confitentem*, but I will never acknowledge *reum*, pleading *Custome* and *Conscience* in my just excuse. *Custome* being habited by my profession ‘therein.’ The learned observe of St. Luke, that being a Physician by his functions, and describing the great difference between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he made use of an expression in his own faculty, *and there was betwixt them a dissention,*

(in Greek) *παρόξυσμος*, that is, the *height and heat of a burning Fever*. So that the Spirit of God, guiding his pen, permitted him to make use of the language proper to his Vocation. And I presume the same favour will be indulged to me by all ingenuous persons, to have (I will not say a *partiality*, but) an *affection* to the expressions of, and excursions into my own calling. Secondly, I plead conscience, that seeing some may Cavil this Work to be a deviation from my function (and I myself perchance of some truth therein), I will watch and catch all opportunity to make a fair Regress to my Profession."

But the work is called the *Worthies of England*, and to that point every thing is made to lead up, and these historical sketches form the chief attraction of the compilation. And who are the fortunate *Worthies*, who are deemed worthy to occupy a niche in this temple raised to the national honour and glory ? " He says that he had not " wittingly, willingly, or wilfully shut the door against any worthy person, which offered to enter into my knowledge, nor was my prejudice the porter in this kind to exclude any who brought merit for their *admission*." Some indeed to whom he has, as it were, said " Come up hither," and introduced into his gallery of illustrious Englishmen were, although worthy to be held forth as examples by their lives and examples—passing out of recollection in his day. By far the most valuable of the lives belong either to his own, or his father's days, and the constant reference made to them prove their value. They often contain some personal notice or reference to personal character of a very interesting and novel way of putting things, illustrating also many of the manners and customs of the social life of that day. He treats

his subject in a very sagacious manner, and a gossiping vein and facetiousness redolent of the finest wit prevade it throughout. He “ never strikes harshly a personal enemy, or an adverse sect. Lastly, he says in chapter xxv., “I stand ready with a *pencel* in one hand, and a *sponge* in the other, to add, alter, insert, expunge, enlarge, and delete, according to better information. And if these my pains shall be found worthy to passe a *second impression*, my faults I will confess with *shame*, and amend with *thankfulness* to such as will contribute clearer Intelligence to me.

“ As for my omitting many rarities and memorables, in the respective countries, I plead for myself that mine being a general description it is not to be expected that I should descend to such particularities, which properly belong to write the *Topography* of one *County* alone. He shewed as little *ingenuity* as *ingeniousnesse*, who cavilled at the *Map* of Grecia as imperfect because his *father's* house in *Athens* was not represented therein. And their expectation in effect is as unreasonable, who looks for every small observeable in a general work. Know this also, that a mean person may be more knowing within the limits of his private Lands, than any Antiquary whatsoever. I remember a merry challenge at Court which passed between the *King's* porter and *Queen's dwarf*, the latter provoking him to fight with him, on condition that he might choose his own place, and be allowed to come thither first, assigning the *Great Oven* in *Hampton Court* for that purpose. Thus easily may the *lowest* domineere over the *highest* skill, if having the advantage of the ground within his own private concernments.” \*

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\* Chap. xxv. p 79.

Demonstrating the fact that the children of clergymen have been as successful as the sons of men of other professions, our Author says, “ but all this being granted, we maintain that Clergymen’s Children have not been more *unfortunate*, but more observed than the children of the parents of other professions. There is but one Minister at one time in a whole Parish, and therefore *the fewer they are*, the easier they are observed both in their *Persons* and *Posterities*. Secondly, the Eminency of their place, maketh them exposed and obvious to all discoveries. Thirdly, possibly Malice may be the *Eye salve* to quicken men’s sight, in prying after them. Lastly, one ill success in their sons, maketh (for the reason aforesaid) more impressions in the Ears and Eyes of people than many miscarriages of those children, whose fathers were of another Function (I speak not this out of interest to excuse or extenuate the *badnesse* of the one, by the badnesse of the other, but that both may be mutually provoked to amendment). In a word other men’s children would have as many *eyesores*, if they had as many *eyes* seeing them.” \*

Excusing himself for not being able always to give the place of his Worthies’ nativities, he observes: “ When we cannot by all our endeavours inform ourselves of the nativities of some eminent person, we are forced to this *Refuge* (so creditable that I care not what eyes behold us entering under the roof thereof) to insert such persons in those countries, where we find them either first or highest preferred; and this we conceive proper enough, and done upon good consideration. For the *Wild Irish* love their

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\* Chap xx. p. 57.

*Nurses* so well (if not better) than their own *Mothers*, and affect their *Foster Brothers* which suckt the same breast, as much as their *Natural Brothers* which sprang from the same womb. If any say these are the *Wild Irish*, whose barbarous customs are not to be imitated, I defend myself by the practice of more civilized people.

“The Latines have a Proverb, *non ubi nascor sed ubi pascor*, making that place their *Mother*, not which *bred*, but which *fed* them.

“The Greeks have but one word, *βίος*, both for *Life* and *Livelyhood*. The Hebrews counted that place was to give a man his Native Denomination, where he had his longest and most visible abode from (though not sometimes in) his infancy; by which common mistake *Jesus* was intituled on the cross of *Nazareth* instead of *Bethlehem*.

“Yea, we may observe that though generally our *English Clergy* were denominated from their Birth-places, yet some few quitted them to be named from those places, where they found their preferment, especially if Convents or Dignities of Signal note, as *Henry of Huntington*, not born, but Archdeacon there, *William of Malmesbury*, *Matthew of Westminster*, no natives of those towns, but Monks of the Monasteries therein.”\*

In tabulating the difficulties our Author had in gleaning intelligence about these “Worthies,” he says: “And here I cannot but bemoan the μέγα χάσμα that great *Gulph* or *broad blank* left in our registers during our Civil Wars, after the laying aside of *Bishops*, and before the Restoration of His Most Sacred Majesty. Yea, hereafter this said vacuum is

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\* C. xxi., p. 61.

like to prove so thick (like the Egyptian darkness) that it will be sensible in our English histories.

"I dare maintain that the Wars between *York* and *Lancaster* (lasting by intermission some *sixty* years) were not so destructive to *Church records* as our *Modern Wars* in *six* years; for during the former their differences agreed in the *same Religion*, impressing them with reverence for all *sacred Muniments*, whilst our *Civil Wars*, founded on *Faction* and variety of *pretended Religions*, exposed all naked *Church Records*, a pity to their *armed violence*.

"Let me adde, that it conduced much to the exactness of *Jewish genealogies* that their children were solemnly *circumcised* and *named* on the *eighth day*. On the contrary, the omitting of the *Baptising of Infants* till they be adults (which causeth that though the *weekly birth* exceeds the *burials*, the *burials* exceed the *christenings* in *London*) will perplex those who in the next age shall write the *nativities* of such *persons*. Say not it matters not though their *nativities* be utterly forgotten, for though their *fathers* were *factionist Phanaticks*, the *sons* (by God's grace) may prove *sober Christians*, and *eminent* in their generation."

And again, "It is observable that men born a *hundred* years since and upwards, have their *nativities* fixed with more assurance than those born some *eighty* years since. Men's eyes see worst in the *twilight*, in that interval after the *Sun is set*, and natural *light ended*, and before *candles* are *set up*, and *artificial light begun*. In such a *crepusculum* of time those Writers lived, who fall short of the history of *Bale* and *Leland*, yet go before the *memory* of any *alive*, which unhappy *interstice* hath often perplexed us, and may easier be complained of than amended." \*

In this same chapter (xxiii.) our Author indicates the chief sources whence he derived his materials, referring them to four heads: (1) Printed books, (2) Records in public offices, (3) Manuscripts in the possession of private gentlemen, (4) in his instructions from the nearest relations to many Worthies.

Under the second head he first mentions the records in *the Tower*: “Master William Ryley was then master of those jewels, for they deserve to be accompted, seeing a scholar would prefer that place before the keeping of all the prisoners in the Tower. I know not whether more to commend his care in securing, dexterity in finding, diligence in perusing them, or courtesy in communicating such copies of them as my occasion required, thanks being all the fees expected from me.”

He next mentions the Records in the *Exchequer*: “Here let not my gratitude be buried in the graves of Master John Wett and Master Francis Boyton, both since deceased, but whilst living, advantageous to my studies.” To these he adds “the *Church Register* in several parishes, very many of which, during my wandering life, I carefully examined. The last part to which I traffiqued for intelligence was by making my addresses, by letters and otherwise, to the nearest relations of those whose lives I have written. Such applications have sometimes proved chargeable, but if my weak pains shall find preferment (that is, acceptance) from the judicious reader, my care and cost is forgotten, and shall never come under computation. . . . This I must gratefully confess, I have met with many who *could* not, never with any *would* not, furnish me with information herein.” And again he observes, “I have gone, and rid,

and wrote, and sought and searched with my own and friends' eyes, to make what discoveries I could.”\*

Sometimes our Author appended a marginal reading within many years after the original text itself. Referring to exception 3, that he had better have left out the lives of those modern persons reputed *malignant* by the present power, and blasted by these times in their estates, Fuller had said: “All persons *unhappy* must not presently be accounted *unworthy*, especially in distracted times. Have you not heard of that humourous *Waterman* on the *Thames* who would carry none in his boat save such who would go *along with the Tide*, till by feeding his *humour* he had almost *starved himself* for want of employment, and should be as peevish as partial. Should I admit those only into my *Catalogue of Worthies* who of late years did swim in plenty, seeing many have been great Sufferers, deservedly commendable by the testimony of their adversaries?” To which our Author appends this note: “Reader, this being written in the *midnight* of our *miseries*, I could not command my hand to expunge it.”†

Answering the cavil of some who objected (exception 8) to our Author’s suppression of the ignoble origin of some of the Worthies, he says: “I conceive myself to have done well in so doing. If enquiry be made into all men’s descents it would be found true what the poet did observe, ‘Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum’—The first of all thy ancestors of yore; and ‘Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere noto’—was but a shepherd, or, I say no more

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\* C. xxv.

† C. xxiv. p. 74.

Besides, it plainly proveth the *Properness* of their *parts*, and *Tallnesse* of their *industry*, who thereby, and by God's blessing thereon, *reached so high preferment*, though disadvantaged by *standing on so low ground* of their extraction.”\*

We will add one more marginal addition. It is from the ninth chapter, about *sequestered ministers*. “Next I desire them to reflect upon aged sequestered *ministers*, whom with their charge, the (generally ill paid) *fifth part* will not maintain, say not it will be interpreted an affront to the *State* to relieve them, which it hath adjudged offenders. If the *best of beings* should observe this rule all the world would be starved. Secondly, some of them, abateing only that their conscience inclined them to the Royal Cause, were otherwise unblameable both in life and doctrine. Thirdly, the better *Divines* they were, the worse they are able to shift for themselves, having formerly no excursion into secular affairs. So that applying themselves only to, and now debarred the exercise of, the ministry, they are left in a sad condition. Lastly, allow them faulty, yet *quid teneri infantes*, &c. It is a pity their wives and children should be ruined for their offence, but enough hereof, seeing in motions of this nature a word is enough to the wise, but half a word too much for others.” To which Fuller appends in the margin, “Reader, this passage being written some 3 years since, I could not command my own right hand to cross it out, but it must stand as it did.”

The word Reformation is often loosely used. In this chapter our Author thus defines it : “No word occurs in our book oftener than *Reformation*. It is as it were the *Aequator*,

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\* C. xxiv., p. 74.

or that remarkable line dividing betwixt *eminent Prelates, learned writers, and benefactors to the Publick* who lived *before or after it*. Know then that this *word* in relation to the *Church of England* is of above twenty years in extent. For the *Reformation* was not advanced *here*, or in some *Forraign Free States*; suddenly not to say (*rapidly*) with popular violence, but *leisurely and treatably*, as became a matter of so great importance: besides the meeting with much *opposition*, retarded the proceedings of the *Reformers*.

“We may observe that the *Jews* from the *Captivity of Babylon* at three different times, under the conduct of several persons :

“1. When the main body of the *Captives* were brought home by *Zorobabel*, by whom the second *Temple* was built.

“2. When a considerable *company* returned with *Ezra*, by whom the *Church part* (as I may term it) was settled in that nation.

“3. When *Nehemiah* (no doubt with suitable *attendance*) came home and ordered the *State moiety* repairing the *walls of Jerusalem*.

“In like manner we may take notice of *three distinct* dates and different degrees of our *English Reformation*, though in relation to the *Jewish* I confess the *method* was altogether inverted.

“1. The *Civil* part thereof; when the Pope’s Supremacy was banished in the reign of King Henry VIII.

“2. When the *Church Service* was *reformed*, as far as that age would admit, in the *first year of King Edward VI*.

“3. When the same (after the *Marian interruption*) was resumed and more refined in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

"The first of these I may call the *morning Star*, the second the *dawning of the day*, the third the *Rising of the Sun*, and I deny not but that since that time the *light and heat* hath been increased." (P. 40.)\*

Professor Craik, in his "History of Literature and Learning," dwells fondly on Fuller's sketch of old Philemon Holland, the translator, "who was translated to a better life A.D. 1637, a sketch, which" he says "is Fuller all over, in heart as well as in head and hand, the last touch especially, which, jest though it be and on a solemn subject, falls as gently and kindly as a tear on good old Philemon and his labours. The effect is as if we were told that even so gently fell the touch of death itself upon the ripe old man—even so easy, natural, and smiling, his labours over, was his leave-taking and exchange of this earth of many languages, the confusion or discord of which he had done his best to reduce, for that better world, where there is only one tongue, and translation is not needed or known. And Fuller's wit and jesting are always of this character, they have not in them a particle either of bitterness or irreverence."†

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\*It is remarkable that Fuller should conclude his last and 25th chapter with these words. Speaking of the word *Alumnus* in its active and passive signification, he says, "The design which we derive in this observation, and the use which we desire should be made of it is this, viz., that such as are born in a Place may be sensible of their Engagements thereunto. That if God give them ability and opportunity they may expresse their Thankfulness to the same.

Quisquis Alumnus erat, gratus alumnus erit.  
And the truth hereof is eminently conspicuous in many persons, but especially in great *Prelates* before, and rich *citizens* since the Reformation." (P. 80.)

† Hist. iv. 81.

There is a very happy criticism by Charles Lamb upon Fuller's notice of Henry de Essex, who in a battle with the Welsh "betwixt traitor and coward, cast away both his courage and banner together. He himself partly thrust, partly going into a convent, hid his head in a cowl, under which, betwixt shame and sanctity, he blushed out the remainder of his life." \* Lamb observes that the fine imagination of Fuller has done what might have been pronounced impossible, it has given an interest and holy character to coward infamy. Nothing can be more beautiful than the concluding account of the last days and expiatory retirement of poor Henry de Essex. The address with which the whole of the little story is told is most consummate. The charm of it seems to consist in a perpetual balance of antitheses not too violently opposed, and the consequent activity of mind in which the reader is kept "Betwixt traitor and coward"—"baseness to do, boldness to deny"—"partly thrust, partly going into a convent,"—"betwixt shame and sanctity." The reader by these artifices is taken into a kind of partnership with the writer, his judgment is exercised in settling the preponderance he feels, as if he were consulted as to the issue. But the modern historian flings at once the dead weight of his own judgment into the scale and settles the matter. †

It has been thought that this sketch of one of the Worthies with whose character he was in perfect sympathy would well reflect the portrait of our Author himself. "James Crawford was born at Coventry, in this county (where his father was a

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\* "Worthies," Bede, 121.

† Specimens from Fuller.

divine and schoolmaster of great note), bred at Oxford, beneficed in Northamptonshire, and afterwards removed to London, to St. Christopher's. A painful preacher, an exact linguist, subtle disputant, orthodox in his judgment, sound against sectaries, well acquainted with the Fathers, not unknown to the Schoolmen, and familiar with the modern divines ; and such his humility, being James the Less in his own esteem, and therefore ought to be the greater in ours. He had, I may say, a broad-chested soul, favourable to such who differed from him. His moderation increased with his age, charity with his moderation; and had a *kindness* for all such who had any *goodness* in themselves. He had many choice books, and (not like to those who may lose themselves in their own libraries, being *owners* not *masters* of their books therein) had his books at such command as the Captain has his soldiers, so that he could make them at his pleasure go or come, or do what he desired. This lame and loyal Mephibosheth (as I may term him) sadly sympathising with the sufferings of Church and State, died rather infirm than old, anno 1657."\*

It is only fair to Fuller that we should here insert what he says of Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, to show how fully he carried out his promise in the letter to him at the end of the *Appeal*. "John Cosin, D.D., was born in the city of Norwich, bred in *Cays Colledge* in *Cambridge*, whereof he was a Fellow. Hence was he removed to the Mastership of *Peter House* in the same University. One, whose abilities, quick apprehension, solid judgment, variety of reading, &c., are sufficiently made known to the world

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\*"Warwickshire," p. 129.

in his learned Books, whereby he hath perpetuated his name to posterity."

"I must not pass over his constancy in his Religion, which rendereth him amiable in the eyes, not of good men only, but of that God with whom there is no *variableness* nor shadow of changing. It must be confessed that a sort of fond people surmised as if he had once been declining to the Popish Perswasion. Thus the dim-sighted complain of the darkness of the room, when, alas ! the fault is in their own eyes ; and the lame of the unevenness of the floor, when, indeed, it lieth in their unsound leggs. Such were the silly folk, their understandings (the eyes of their mind) being darkened, and their affections (the feet of their soul) made lame by prejudice, who have thus falsely conceited of this worthy Doctor.

"However, if anything I have delivered in my *Church History* (relating therein a charge drawn up against him, for urging of some Ceremonies, without inserting his Purgation, which he effectually made, clearing himself from the least imputation of any fault) hath anyway augmented this, I humbly crave pardon of him for the same.

"Sure I am, were his enemies now his judges (had they the least spark of ingenuity) they must acquit him, if proceeding according to the evidence of his Writing, Living, Disputing. Yea, whilst he remained in *France*, he was the *Atlas* of the *Protestant Religion*, supporting the same with his piety and learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea dayly adding *Proselytes* (not of the meanest rank) thereunto.

"Since the return of our gracious Soveraign, and the reviving of swooning Episcopacy, he was deservedly preferred Bishop of *Durham*. And here the reader must

pardon me, if willing to make known my acquaintance with so eminent a Prelate. When one in his Presence was pleased with some proposition, wherein the Pope condescended somewhat to the Protestants, he most discreetly returned (in my hearing), ‘*We thank him not at all for that which God hath always allowed us in His Word,*’ adding withal, ‘*He would allow it us so long as it stood with his policy,*’ and take it away as soon as it stood with his Power.’ And thus we take our leave of this worthy *Prelate*, praying for his long life, that he may be effectual in advancing the settlement of our yet distracted Church.”\*

D’Israeli in his “Curiosities of Literature” has the following reference to our Author. He is speaking of the “Jocular Bishop.” In 1537 our Bishop Latimer preached a sermon, in which he expresses himself thus: “Now ye have heard what is meant by this first Card, and how ye ought to play. I purpose again to deal unto you another card of the same suit: for they be so nigh affinity that one cannot be well played without the other.” It is curious to observe about a century afterwards, as *Fuller* informs us “that when a Country Clergyman imitated these familiar allusions, the taste of the Congregation had so changed that he was interrupted by peals of laughter.” Again, comparing our three great writers, Spenser, Jonson, and Shakespeare, he says, “The Characters of these giants of English poetry are sketched by *Fuller* in his *Worthies of England*.” It is a literary morsel that must not be passed by. The criticisms of those who lived in or near the times when authors flourished merit our observation. They sometimes

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\* Durham, pp. 195-96.

elicit a ray of intelligence, which later opinions do not always give. He observes on *Spencer*, "The many Chaucerisms used (for I will not say effected by him) are thought by the ignorant to be blemishes, known by the learned to be beauties, to his book : which, notwithstanding had been more saleable, if more conformed to our modern language." On *Jonson*, "His parts were not so ready to run of themselves, as able to answer the spur, so that it may be truly said of him that he had an elaborate wit, wrought out by his own industry. He would sit silent in learned company and suck in (besides wine) several humours into his observations. What was ore in others, he was able to refine himself. He was paramount in the dramatic part of poetry, and taught the stage an exact conformity to the laws of the Comedians. His Comedies were above the Volge (which are only tickled with downright obscenity) and took not so well at the first stroke as at the rebound, when beheld the second time: yea, they will endure reading so long as ingenuity or learning are fashionable in our nation. If his latter be not so spriteful and vigorous as his first pieces, all that are old will, and all who desire to be old should, excuse him therein." On *Shakespeare*, "He was an eminent instance of the truth of that rule *Poeta non fit sed nascitur*, 'one is not made but born a poet.' Indeed his learning was but very little: so that as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary, but are pointed and smooth, even as they are taken out of the earth, so nature itself was all the Art which was used upon him.

"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish Great Galleon

and an English Man-of-war. Master Jonson (like the former) was bint far higher in learning, solid, but slow in his performances. Shakespeare, with an English Man-of-War, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention. Had these ‘wit-combats’ between Shakespeare and Jonson which Fuller notices, been chronicled by some faithful Boswell of the age, our literary history would have received an interesting accession.” \*

It would be tedious to our readers to go through all the literary notices of our Author’s “Worthies,” which are innumerable, and we can only quote two or three. Oldys, Cole, Alibom, Nichols, Knight, Winstanley, Pepys, Newcome, Charles Lamb, all refer to the work in glowing terms. *Cole*, of Cambridge, writes, 1771, “Dr. Fuller, with wit and pleasantry, has enlivened every subject he took in hand, and the Lovers of History and Anecdotes can never sufficiently return him their thanks for a 1,000 circumstances, which would have been lost but for his Industry, and I take the opportunity of returning him my own.” *Oldys*, who made good use of Fuller’s labours, observes that “The characters or memorials here assembled of so many great men will always make the book necessary to be consulted: especially as there are preserved therein abundance of lives then first or newly written, and nowhere else to be had, which have been of good service to many grave writers of substantial credit, even in history, antiquities and heraldry.” *Mr. Nichols*, the indefatigable editor of many of Fuller’s works, alluded to the great pleasure he had experienced in consulting this

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\* D’Israeli’s “Curiosities of Literature,” p. 141.

book, and *Mr. Crossley* thus writes of it in the "Retrospective Review": "His *Worthies* is, we believe, more generally perused than any of his productions, and is perhaps the most agreeable: suffice it to say of it that it is a most fascinating storehouse of gossiping, anecdote and quaintness: a most delightful medley of interchanged amusement, presenting entertainment as varied as it is inexhaustible." \* *Winstanley* in his second edition of his "Worthies," 1684, says, "I remember when my first impression of this book of England's "Worthies" came forth, it being in the year 1659, a time (like that when Dr. Fuller's *Church History* came out) the truth could not be spoken with safety: the Doctor was half offended at me as anticipating him in the title of a designed work of his. But when he understood my ignorance of his design, and my constant cordialness to the Royal cause, his anger was turned to amity, as by his expressions to me at Waltham Abbey, he manifested himself. And indeed it is great pity he lived not to finish his *Worthies*, which had it had its last hand unto it would no doubt have come forth into the world far more complete than it is."

*Pepys*, the diarist, a great friend of Fuller's, appears to have been much interested in our Author's book. This is his account of it: "10 Feb. 1661-2.—Diary.—To St. Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's *England's Worthies*, the first time I ever saw it, and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that though he had some discourse with me about my family and armes," he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolke, but, I believe, indeed, our

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\* "Ret. Rev." iii. 54.

family were never very considerable."—"Feb. 23rd.—My cold being increased, I staid at home all day, pleasing myself with my dining-room (so I spent the day), now graced with pictures, and reading of Dr. Fuller's *Worthys*."—"10th Dec. 1663.—To St. Paul's Churchyard, to my booksellers, and having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or £3, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon and found myself at great loss where to choose, and do not see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but, at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's *History of Paul, Stow's London*, Gesner, the History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I, at last, choose Dr. Fuller's *Worthys*, the *Cabbala*; or, *Collections of Letters of State*, and a little book, *Délices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure: and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though, I cannot, I confess, see where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office and to read Rushworth, and so home to supper and to bed." On 10th April (Lord's Day), 1664, "My wife dressed herself, it being Easter Day, but I not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, staid at home with me. . . . We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's book what he says of the Clifford's and Kingsmills." (Connections of the wife of the Diarist.)

*Charles Lamb* had a very keen appreciation of Fuller's

writings, as we have remarked before, especially the *Church History and Worthies*, “I write big,” writing to a friend in 1829, “not to save ink but eyes, mine having been troubled with reading through three folios of old Fuller in almost as few days, and I went to bed last night in agony, and am writing with a vial of eye-water before me, alternately dipping in vial and inkstand.” And once more, “You don’t know the treasures of the Fullers; I calculate on having massy reading this Christmas.”

In a work of such voluminous bulk, and containing such “ubiquitary intelligence,” it was impossible but that there should be both omissions and errors, and that some dates should either have been left blank or filled up conjecturally. But these imperfections are excused by Oldys from a sympathy with the difficulties of the undertaking. Our Author himself made an ingenious excuse for its defects when he said in reference to Foxe, the martyrologist, that it was “impossible for any author of a voluminous book, consisting of several persons and circumstances (Reader, in pleading for Mr. Foxe, I plead for myself), to have such ubiquitary intelligence as to apply the same infallibly to every particular.” And he observes elsewhere “a blank was better than a blot,” adding that for those bald places the reader might, if so pleased, provide a Perewake.” John Fuller, our Author’s son and editor of the “Worthies,” thus speaks of the collection in general, and mistakes of the folio in particular. We give his Epistle to the Reader in *extenso*:

“Reader, Thou hast here presented to thy view a collection of the “Worthies of England,”\* which might have appeared larger, had God spared (my dear Father) the Author’s life. At his death there remained unprinted the Bishoprick of

Durham, the Counties of Derby, Dorset, Gloucester, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Oxford, Rutland, with part of Kent, Devonshire, and the Cities of London and Westminster, which now at length (according to the copy the author left behind him) without the least addition, are made publick.

“It is needless here to acquaint thee with the nature of the Work, it being already fully set down in the first sixteen sheets thereof. Yet thou mayst be pleased to take notice that (although the Title promisith thee only the History of the *Worthies* of England) in the end there is added a short description of the Principality of Wales.

“The discounting of Sheets (to expedite the Work at several Presses) hath occasioned the often mistake of the folios. Whatever faults else occur in this Impression, it is my request, that thou wouldest score them on my want of care or skill in correcting the same, that they may not in the least reflect on the credit of my dead Father.—JOHN FULLER.”

Our Author’s son also dedicated the *Worthies* “To His Sacred Majesty” (King Charles II.), in the following terms:

“Most Dread Soveraign.—The tender of these ensuing collections is made with as much Fear and Reverence as it was intended with Duty and Devotion by the *Author* whilst living. The obligation that lieth upon *me* to endeavour *him* all right, forced me unto this presumption. It is the first Voice I ever uttered in this kind, and I hope it will be neither *displeasing* to Your Majesty, or *blamed* by the world: whilst (not unlike that of the son of Croesus), it sounds Loyalty to my *Soveraign* and Duty to my *Father*.

“The matter of this *Work*, for the most part, is the des-

cription of such native and peculiar Commodities as the several Counties of your Kingdom afford, with a revival of the Memories of such Persons which have in each County been eminent for Parts or Learning. If this age abound with the like, it is their glory : if not, the perusal may perhaps beget in them a noble emulation of their ancestors. May Your Majesties Reign be Happy and Long, to see Your Countries Commodities improved, and Your Worthies multiplied. So prayeth Your Majesties meanest Subject, the Author's orphan, JOHN FULLER."

This John Fuller, our Author's elder son, was admitted at Sydney Sussex College, after remaining at St. Paul's School for five years, in 1657, and took his B.A. in 1660. He is called "a hopeful plant" in 1661, but he does not seem to have greatly distinguished himself. His dedication of the "Worthies" to the King brought him into favourable regard at Court, and secured for him some substantial favours with respect to the copyright from Whitehall. He remained at Cambridge, and obtained a Fellowship in 1663, becoming M.A. in 1664, but he nearly lost his Fellowship owing to some informality or irregularity in his subscription to the Act of Uniformity. John Fuller, however, petitioned, and got the matter soon set right, permanently securing for himself the Fellowship.\*

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\* The King (Charles II.), in a letter to the Master of the College, says, that as John Fuller had subscribed the Declaration pursuant to the Acts of Parliament before his enjoyment of any privilege of a Fellowship, though not before his admission, he is to receive all privileges as fully as though he had subscribed before Christmas. John Fuller was therefore—a report of the circumstances of the case having been drawn up by the Vice-Chancellor and Committee, April 4th, 1667—restored to his Fellowship at Sydney Sussex College, but all trace is lost of him after this date.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## FULLER'S "WORTHIES OF ENGLAND" (2).

"This constrained retrospection of the *Doctor's* to secure and assist the far advanced strength of his foremost works did a little retard and impede the arriere of his labours, which consisted of the flower and choice of all his abilities, and wherein his *Worthies* were placed; how be it this proved but a Halt to those encumbrances and difficulties which he had all along met, and soon set that Book on foot again."—*Anonymous Life*, p. 48.

E find ourselves lingering over this charming volume, and are unable to leave it, therefore at the risk of being tedious we will present our readers with a few word-pictures out of this interesting gallery of national antiquities, to which we will devote another chapter. The materials are inexhaustible, and we are tempted to make a great demand upon them especially from the lives of great men, and the local proverbs. But space forbids, and so we will only give one or two more specimens of the former, confining ourselves for the most part to Fuller's fine descriptions of the architectural features of our English Cathedrals, these shrines of a nation's faith, and landmarks of our domestic history, which may interest many of our readers. The writer of this work, speaking of our national Basilicas, has lately written in another place: "In tabulating the advantages

of the present relationship of the Established Church, we must not omit to refer to our Cathedrals, those 'mirrors of apostolical antiquity,' as Hooker calls them, which are at once the glory of our Church, and pride of our land. These majestic and venerable piles of grandest pretensions, these 'first harbours of Christianity,' as they have been called, have an historical interest as well as ecclesiastical renown. They are the links between the past and the present, they weld together the different epochs of English history, and the various fortunes and phases of the Anglican Church : they are connected with the reigning families or dynasties as they come up, and fall back into obscurity : they show the continuity and antiquity of the Church of England at present existing : they take us back to the old British Church : they tell of Anglo-Saxon times and the pre-Papal era, before the aggressions of the Western Pontiff had made themselves felt : when that 'body spiritual,' 'that part of the said body politic called the spirituality—usually called the Church of England—was thought sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons,' these glorious fanes, the concrete embodiment of national ecclesiasticism, had risen in all their matchless perfection and pristine beauty. Only to mention one of their names is to read back, at one thrilling glance, the annals of the State and Church of England.

" You cannot separate them, they are entwined in the very roots of the Constitution, and witness to those liberties of which Englishmen are so proud. These buildings are, as a rule, the highest and very best of their class. They are the flower and perfection of ecclesiastical architecture and sculpture. All the sister arts seem to vie with each other,

and become focalized and localized under their majestic dome or canopy.”\*

As our Author’s architectural observations are as remarkable as they are critical, we will at once introduce them to the reader’s notice, beginning with his own Cathedral of Salisbury, of which he was Prebendary and Bishop-Designate, and of which his uncle Davenant was for many years Bishop, and who lies buried in the sacred edifice, the monument being in the south transept thereof.

“The Cathedral of Salisbury,” he says on the *Buildings of Wiltshire* “(dedicated to the Blessed Virgin), is paramount in this kind, wherein the *Doors* and *Chappells* equal the months, the Windows the days, the pillars and pillarets of *fusill marble* (an ancient art now shrewdly suspected to be lost), the hours of the year, so that all *Europe* affords not such an *Almanack of Architecture*.

“‘ As many days as in one year there be,  
So many windows in this church we see ;  
As many marble pillars here appear,  
As there are hours throughout the fleeting year ;  
As many gates as moons one year does view,  
Strange tale to tell ! yet not more strange than true.’

“Once walking in the Church (whereof then I was Prebendary) I met a countryman wondering at the structure thereof. *I once* (said he to me) *admired that there could be a church that should have so many pillars, as there be Hours in the year ; and now I admire more, that there should be so many hours in the year, as I see pillars in this church.*

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\* “Our Established Church: Its History, Philosophy, Advantages, and Claims, with a Dissertation on the Anglican Ordinal,” by Rev. Morris Fuller (Pickering, London, 1878), p. 284.

"The *Cross Isle* of this Church is the most beautiful and lightsome of any I have yet seen. The Spire Steeple (not founded on the ground, but for the main supported by *four pillars*) is of great height and greater workman-ship. I have been credibly informed that some foreign artists, beholding this building, brake forth into Tears, which some imputed to their *Admiration* (though I see not how *wondring* can cause *weeping*), others to their *envy*, grieving that they had not the like in their own land.

"Nor can the most *curious* (not to say *cavilling*) Eye desire anything which is wanting in this *edifice*, except possibly an *ascent*, seeing such who address themselves hither for their devotions can hardly say with *David*, *I will go up to the house of the Lord*.

"But the curiosity of the Criticks is best entertained with the Tomb in the *north* of the nave of the Church, where lieth a monument in stone of a little boy habited all in Episcopal Robes, a Miter upon his head, a Crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly. At the discovery thereof (formerly covered over with pews), many justly admired that either a *Bishop* should be so small in *person*, or a *child* so great in *clothes*, though since all is unriddled. For it was fashionable in that Church (a thing rather deserving to be remembered than fit to be done), in the depth of Popery, that the Choristers chose a boy of their society to be a Bishop among them, from *St. Nicholas* till *Innocents* day at night, who did officiate in all things, Bishop-like, saying of Mass alone excepted, and held the state of a Bishop, answerably habited, amongst his fellows the counterfeit Prebends: one of these chancing to die in his mock-Episcopacy, was buried with Crosier and Miter as aforesaid.

Thus Superstition can dispense with that which Religion cannot, making Piety Pageantry, and subjecting what is sacred to lusory representations.”\*

Our Author also mentions a local Proverb connected with this Church : “ ‘ *It is done secundum usum Sarum.*’ ] This Proverb coming out of the *Church*, hath since enlarged itself into a *Civil use*. It began on this occasion. Many *offices* or *forms of service* were used in several churches in *England*, as the office of *York*, *Hereford*, *Bangor*, etc., which caused a deal of confusion in God’s worship, untill *Osmond*, Bishop of *Sarum*, about the year of our Lord 1090, made that *Ordinall* or *Office* which was generally received all over *England*, so that Churches thence forward easily understood one another, all speaking the same words in their *Liturgy* (*i.e.*, office of Holy Communion).

“ It is now applyed to those *persons* which do, and Actions which are *formally* and *solemnly* done, in so regular a way by *Authentick Precedents* and Paterns of *unquestionable Authority*, that no just exception can be taken thereat.”†

Fuller was also connected with Exeter for some time, where he was officially connected with the Court, being tutor to the young Princess Henrietta. This is what he says of that Norman cathedral : “ The *Cathedrall* dedicated to *St. Peter* is most *beautifull*, having the west end thereof adorned with so *lively-statues* of stone, that they plainly speak the art of those who erected them.”‡

\* “ *Wiltshire*,” p. 146.

† “ *Wiltshire*,” p. 144.

‡ “ *Exeter*,” p. 273.

Our Author, treating on the Devonshire proverbs, mentions one in connection with Lydford :

“First hang and draw,  
Then hear the cause by Lidford Law.”

*Lidford* is a little and poor (but ancient) Corporation in this County, with very large priviledges, where a Court of the Stanneries was formerly kept. This *Libellous Proverb* would suggest unto us, as if the Towns-men thereof (generally mean persons) were unable to manage their own Liberties with necessary discretion, administering preposterous and preproperous Justice.

“I charitably believe that some *Tinners*, justly obnoxious to censure, and deservedly punished (by fine or otherwise) for their misdemeanors, have causelessly traduced the proceedings of that Court when they could not maintain their own innocence.”\*

In points of Wells and Exeter, Fuller compares to the advantage of the former. Speaking of the Buildings of Somersetshire, he says : “ Of these the Churches of *Bath* and *Wells* are most eminent. *Twins* are said to make but *one man*, as these two Churches constitute but one Bishop’s See ; yet as a *Twin* oftentimes proves as proper a person as those of single *Birth*, so these severally equal most, and exceed many, Cathedrals in *England*.

“ We begin with *Bath*, considerable in its several conditions, viz., the beginning, obstructing, decaying, repairing, finishing thereof.

“ 1. It was begun by *Oliver King*, Bishop of this Diocese in the reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and the west end most

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\* “ *Devonshire*, ” p. 249.

curiously cut and carved with Angels, climbing up a ladder to Heaven. But this Bishop died before the finishing thereof.

“ 2. His death obstructed this structure, so that it stood a long time neglected, which gave reason for one to write on the Church-wall with a Char-coal—

‘ O Church I wail thy woeful plight,  
Whom King, nor Card’nal, Clark, or Knight  
Have yet restor’d to ancient right.’

Alluding herein to Bishop *King*, who begun it, and his four successors in thirty-nine years, viz., Cardinal *Adrian*, Cardinal *Wolsey*, Bishop *Clark*, and Bishop *Knight*, contributing nothing to the effectual finishing thereof.

“ 3. The decay and almost ruin thereof followed, when it felt in part the Hammers which knocked down all Abbes. True it is, the Commissioners profered to sell the Church to the Townsmen under 500 marks. But the Townsmen, fearing if they bought it so cheap, to coz in the King: so that the purchase might come under the compasse of concealed lands, refused the profer. Hereupon the glass, iron, Bells, and Lead (which last alone amounted to 480 Tun), provided the finishing thereof, were sold and sent over beyond the Seas, if a ship-wreck (as some report) met them not by the way.

“ 4. For the repairing thereof collections were made all over the land in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, though inconsiderable, either in themselves or through the corruption of others. Onely honest Mr. *Billet* (whom I take to be the same with him who was designed Executor to the will of *William Cecil* Lord Burghley) disbursed good sums to the repairing thereof. And a stranger under a

fained name took the confidence thus to play the Poet and the Prophet on this structure—

‘ Be blithe fair Kirck, when *Hempe* is past,  
Thine *Olive*, that ill winds did blast,  
Shall flourish green for age to last.

Subscribed, CASSADORE.’

By *Hempe* understand *Henry* the Eight, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, King *Philip*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Author, I expect, had a *Tang* of the *Cask*, and being parcel-popish expected the finishing of this Church at the return of their Religion : but his Prediction was verified in a better sense, when his Church

“ 5. Was finished by *James Montague*, Bishop of this See, disbursing vast sums in the same, though the better enabled thereunto by his Mines at *Mynedep*, so that he did but remove the Lead from the bowels of the earth to the roof of the Church, wherein he lies entered unto a fair monument.

“ The Church is both spacious and specious, the most lightsome as ever I beheld, proceeding from the greatness of the windows, and whiteness of the glass therein. All I have more to add is only this, that the parable of *Jotham* (*Judges ix. 8*) is on this Church most curiously wrought (in allusion to the Christian sirname of the first Founder thereof), how the Trees going to choose them a king, profered the place to the *Olive*. Now, when lately one *Oliver* was for a time *Commander-in-chief* in this land, some (from whom more gravity might have been expected) beheld this Picture as a Prophetical Prediction, so apt are English fancies ~~to~~ to take fire at every spark of conceit. But seeing since that *Olive* hath been blasted bottom, his root and branches,

this pretended Prophecy with that observation the reason is withered away."

"As for the cathedral of *Wells* it is a greater, so darker than that of *Bath*, so that *Bath* may seem to *draw* devotion with the plesantnesse, *Wells* to *drive* it with the *Solemnity* thereof, and ill-tempered their minds who will be moved with neither. The west front of *Wells* is a masterpiece of art indeed, made of imagery in just proportion, so that we may call them *vera et spirantia signa*. *England* affordeth not the like. For the West end of *Excester* beginneth accordingly, it doth not like *Wells* persevere to the end thereof."\*

This lengthy account of Bath Abbey (which has been by the way most handsomely restored in the last few years) is no doubt due to Fuller's visits there when it was one of the chief Royalist camps, at that time he was with Lord Hopton as his Chaplain.

Come we now to Winchester, about which Fuller has preserved this local proverb "Canterbury is the higher *Rack*, but Winchester is the better *Manger*." W. Edington (or Edington) Bishop of *Winchester* was the author of this expression, rendering this the reason of his refusal to be removed to *Canterbury*, though chosen thereunto. Indeed, though *Canterbury* be graced with an Higher Honor, the revenues of *Winchester* lying entirely, are more advantageous to gather riches thereon. The proverb is applicable to such who prefer a wealthy Privacy, before a less profitable Dignity. Yet know that that *Manger* did partly maintain that *Rack*, viz., when John *White*, Bishop of *Winchester* was enjoyned by Queen *Mary* to pay a thousand pound a year to Cardinal *Poole*,

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\* "Somersetshire," pp. 19, 20.

archbishop of Canterbury, for the better support of his estate."

"The Cathedral of Winchester," says Fuller, "yieldeth to none in *England* for venerable magnificence. It could not be *Opus unius Sæculi*, perfected by the contributive endeavours of several successive bishops, whereof some lie most sumptuously interred in their Chappel-like-monuments."

"On the walls of the Quire on each side, the dust of the *Saxon Kings* and ancient Bishops of this Church were decently entombed (many hundred years after) by *Richard Fox*, Bishop of this See, till in the beginning of our civil wars they were barbarously thrown down by the souldiers.

"Josephus reports (what some hardly believe) how Herod took many talents of treasure out of the sepulchre of David, sure I am they met with no such wealth in this *mine* of Mortality amongst the ashes, which did none any injury, and therefore why malice could *scratch out* that, which did not *bite it*, is to me unknown."\*

The proverb which compares the respective merits of Winchester and Canterbury carries away our thoughts to the beautiful and ancient cathedral of the metropolitical See. "Christ Church first dedicated" says Fuller, "and (after 300 years intermission to Saint *Thomas Beckett*) restored to the honour of our *Saviour*, is a stately structure, being the performance of several Archbishops. It is much adorned with glass windows. Here they will tell you of a foraign Ambassador, who proffered a vast price to transport the east window of the *Quire* beyond the seas. Yet

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\* "Hant-shire," p. 2.

artists who commend the *colours*, condemn the *Figures* therein, as wherein proportion is not exactly observed."

"According to the maxime, *Pictures* are the *Books* painted windows were in the time of Popery, the *Library* of *Lay-men*, and after the conquest grew in general use in *England*. It is much suspected *Ancyling* of glass (which answereth to *Dying in grain in Drapery*), especially of *Yellow*, is lost in our age, as to the perfection thereof. Anciently colours were so incorporated in windows, that both of them lasted and faded together. Whereas our modern painting (being rather *on* than *in* the glass) is fixed so faintly that it often changeth, and sometimes falleth away. Now, though some be only for the innocent *White*, are equal enemies to the painting of Windows or Faces, conceiving the one as great a *Pander* to superstitions as the other to wantonesse. Yet others of as much *zeal* and more *knowledge* allow the *Historical uses* of them in Churches."\*With regard to Canterbury, the late eminent architect, Mr. George Edmund Street, tells us "how after the great fire of A.D. 1174, which destroyed the then existing Church, after much delay the monks summoned French and English artificers to their aid, and among others," says Gervase, the monk who tells the story, "there had come a certain William of Sens, a man active and ready, and as a workman most skilled in wood and stone, him therefore they retained on account of his lively genius, and good reputation, and dismissed the others. And to him and the providence of God was the execution of the work committed. It scarcely needs to say that for the next few years, until ill-health compelled him to resign his post,

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\* "Canterbury" p. 97.

this Frenchman carried on the works of our Metropolitical Cathedral, in a style which was thoroughly French, and closely like that in his own city of Sens. So, again, the *stained glass* with which the Church is so richly adorned is so similar in detail to much French glass, and especially to that in the cathedral of Bourges, that it hardly admits of question that it either was executed in France, or at least, by men who derived all their education from thence.”\*

From Canterbury to York is an easy transition. The Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of *All* England and Metropolitan, and the Archbishop of York is Primate of England and Metropolitan. We will now see what our Author says of the Metropolitical Cathedral of the Northern Province. He quotes, anent this city, the local Proverb, “*Lincoln was, London is, York shall be.*”

“The *Cathedrall* in this City answereth the character which a forraign author giveth it.† *Templum opere et magnitudine toto orbe memorandum*, the work of *John Romaine, William Melton, and John Thoresbury*, successive *Archbishops* thereof. The family of the *Percyes* contributing *Timber*, of the *Valvasors, stone* thereunto.

“Appending to this *Cathedrall* is the *Chapter House*, such a *Master Piece of Art* that this *golden verse* (understand it written *golden letters* is engraved thereon) ‘*Ut rosa flos florum, sic est Domus ista Domorum.*’

“‘Of Flowers that grow, the Flower, the Rose,  
All Houses so this House outgoes.’

\*“The Study of Foreign Gothic Architecture and its Influence on English Art.” Essay by George Edmund Street, R.A.

† The writer of the “Life of Aeneas Sylvius; or, Pope Pius Secundus”

“Now as it follows not that the *usurping Tulip* is better than the *Rose*, because preferred by some *forraign fancies* before it: so is it in consequence that *Modish Italian Churches* are better than this *Reverent Magnificent Structure*, because some *humorous Travailors* are so pleased to esteem them.

“One may justly wonder how this Church whose *Edifice Woods* (designed by the devotion of former ages, for the repair thereof) were lately sold, should consist in so good a condition. But as we read that *God made all those to pity His children, who carried them captive*,\* so I am informed that some who had this *Cathedrall* in their command, favourably reflected thereon, and not only permitted, but procured the repair thereof, and no doubt he doth sleep the more comfortably, and will die the more quietly for the same.” †

We have just passed from the Metropolitical Church of the Southern to that of the Northern Province, and we will now proceed to our Author’s comparison of the two sister Universities and description of Ely Cathedral.

“*Cambridge* is the chief credit of this County, as the University is of *Cambridge*. It is confess’d, that Oxford far exceeds it for sweetness of situation, and yet it may be maintained that though there be *better aire* in *Oxford*, yet there is *more* in the Colledges of Cambridge, of *Cambridge*, For *Oxford* is a University in a Town, *Cambridge*, a Town in an University, where the Colledges are not surrounded with the offensive embraces of streets, but generally situated on the out-side, affording the better conveniency of private

\* Ps. cvi. 46.

† “*York*,” p. 226.

walks and gardens about them.\* But having formerly written of the fabricks of *Cambridge*, I forbear any further enlargement. The Colleges in *Oxford*,” says Fuller, “advantaged by the vicinity of fair *Freestone* do for their generality of their structure carry away the credit from all Christendom, and equal any for the largeness of their Endowments.

“It is not for the least part of *Oxford’s* happiness, that a moiety of her Founders were Prelates (whereas *Cambridge* hath but three Episcopal Foundations, *Peter House, Trinity Hall, and Jesus*) who had an experimental knowledge, what belonged to the necessities and conveniences of scholars, and therefore have accommodated them accordingly : principally in providing them the patronages of many good Benefices, whereby the Fellows of those Colleges are plentifully maintained, after their leaving of the University.†

“Of the Colleges, *University* is the oldest, *Pembroke* the youngest, *Christ Church* the greatest, *Lincoln* (by many reputed) the least, *Magdalen* the neatest, *Wadham* the most uniform, *New College* the strongest, and *Jesus College* (no fault but its unhappiness) the poorest ; and if I knew which was the richest, I would not tell, seeing concealment in this

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\* This is especially true of Queens’ College, of which our Author was an Alumnus, with its Walnut Tree Court, President’s gardens and Undergraduates’ Walk on the other side of the river Cam, commanding fine views of King’s College, the Chapel, Clare College, and Grounds, with their bridges spanning the river. A more beautiful scene than the procession of boats at King’s and Queens’, can hardly be conceived, at the conclusion of the May Term Races.

† “*Oxford*,” 326.

kind is the safest. *New College* is most proper for Southern, *Exeter* for Western, *Queen's* for Northern, *Brazen-nose* for North-Western men: *St. John's* for *Londonders*, *Jesus* for Welshmen, and at other Colleges almost indifferently for men of all countries. *Merton* hath been most famous for Schoolmen, *Corpus-Christi* (formerly called *Trilingue Collegium*) for Linguists, *Christ Church* for Poets, *All Souls* for Orators, *New College* for Civilians, *Brazen Nose* for Disputants; *Queens College* for Metaphysicians, *Exeter* for a late series of *Regius Professors*, *Magdalen* for Ancient, *St. John's* for modern Prelates, and all eminent in some one or other. And if any of these Colleges were transported into forreign parts, it would alter its *kind* (or degree at least) and presently of a College proceed an University, as equal to most, and superior to many, *Academies beyond the Seas.*"\*

"Before I conclude with these colleges, I must confess how much I was posed with a passage, which I met with in the *Epistles* of *Erasmus*, writing to his familiar friend, *Ludovicus Vives*, then residing in *Oxford*, in *Collegio Apum*, in the College of Bees, according to his direction of his letter. I know all Colleges may metaphorically be termed the *Colleges of Bees*, wherein the industrious scholars live under the rule of one master. In which respect *St. Hieron* advised *Rusticus*, the Monk, to busie himself in making *bee-hives*, that from thence he might learn—*Monasteriorum ordinem et Regiam disciplinam*—the order of Monasteries, and discipline of Kingly Government. But why any College should be signally called, and which it was, I was at a loss, till at last

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\* "Oxford" p. 326.

reasonably satisfied that it was *Corpus Christi*, wherein no unpleasant story doth depend.

"In the year 1630 the *Leads* over *Vives*, his study being decayed, were taken up and new cast, by which occasion the Stall was taken, and with it an incredible mass of Honey. But the *Bees*, as presaging their intended and imminent destruction (whereas they were never known to have swarmed before) did that Spring (to preserve their famous Hive) send down a fair swarm into the President's garden. That which, in the year 1633, yielded two swarms, one whereof pitched in the Garden for the President, the other they sent up as a new Colony into their old Habitation, there to continue the memory of this *mellifluous Doctor*, as the University styled him in a letter to the Cardinal.

"It seems these *Bees* were *Aborigines*, from the first building of the College being called *Collegium Apum* in the Founder's statutes, and so is *John Claymond*, the first President thereof, saluted by *Erasmus*."

#### *Eely Minster.*

This presenteth itself afar off to the eye of the traveller, and on all sides at great distance, not onely maketh a promise, but giveth earnest of the beauty thereof. The Lanthorn therein built by *Bishop Hotham*, wherein the labours of twenty years, and five thousand ninety-four pounds eighteen shillings ten pence half-penny farthing was expended in a Master-piece of Architecture. When the bells ring the wood-work thereof shaketh and gapeth (no defect but perfection of structure), and exactly chocketh into the joynts again: so that it may pass for the lively embleme of the sincere Christian, who, though he hath

*motum trepidationis* of fear and trembling,\* stands firmly fixt on the basis of a true faith. Rare also is the art in the Chappel of *Saint Mairies*, the patern or parent of that in *King's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, though here (as often elsewhere) it hath happened, the child hath outgrown the father.

“Nor must the Chappel of Bishop *West* be forgotten, seeing the Master-masons of King *James* on serious inspection, found finer stone-work herein, than in King *Henry* the Seventh, his Chappel in *Westminster*.

“It grieved me lately to see so many *new lights* in this Church (supernumerary windows more than were in the first fabrick) and the whole structure in a falling condition, except some good men’s charity seasonably support it. Yet was I glad to hear a great Antiquary employed to transcribe and preserve the monuments in that Church, as all others in the *late-drowned-land*. And it is hard to say which was the better office, whether of those who have newly dried them from the inundation of water, or of those who shall drain them from the deluge of oblivion by perpetuating their antiquities to posterity.”†

“We have just quoted the local proverb of York—‘*Lincoln was, London is, York shall be.*’ That *Lincoln was*, namely, a far fairer, Greater, Richer City then now it is, doth plainly

\* Phil. ii. 12.

† It may be mentioned that a few years ago this Cathedral in the Isle of Ely, dedicated to *St. Etheldreda*, was magnificently restored, and re-opened with such thrilling ceremonial services (which those who witnessed them will never forget) in commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the building.

† “*Cambridgeshire*,” pp. 149, 150.

appear by the ruins thereof, being, without controversie, the *greatest city in the Kingdom of Mercia.*" This is what Fuller says of its Buildings, Churches, and Cathedral: "Here the complaint of the Prophet taketh no place, taxing men to living in *Ceeded Pallaces*, whilst the *Temple of God lay wast*, no county affording *worse Houses or better Churches*. It addeth to the wonder, seeing that in this soft county a *Diamond* is as soon found as a *Flint*, their churches are built of *Polished stones*, no *Natives*, but *Naturalized* by importation from forreign parts.

"I hope the *Inhabitants* of this *Shire* will endeavour to disprove this proverb (*the nearer to the Church the further from God*), because they have substituted a better in the room thereof, viz., *the further from Stone, the better the Churches.*

"As for the *Cathedral* of *Lincoln*, whose *Floare* is higher than the *Roof* of many churches, it is a magnificent structure, proportionable to the amplitude of the Diocese. This I dare boldly say, that no *Diocesse* in *Christendome* afforded two such Rivers (viz., Thames and Trent) for the *Southern* and *Northern* Bounds, and two such *Universities*, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, both in the Content thereof, before three smaller Bishopricks were carved out of it." \*

Fuller was a great admirer of *Lichfield* Cathedral, whose façade adorns his *Church History*. "I have presented," he observes, "a Portraiture of the Church of *Lichfield* in my 'Church History,' with a due praise of the neatness thereof. But now, alas, the *Body* thereof is become a very *Carcase*, ruined in our late Civil Wars. The like Fate is

\* Ely, Peterborough, and Oxford. "Lincolnshire," p. 151.

likely to fall on the rest of our Cathedrals, if care be not taken for their reparations.

“ I have read of *Duke D’Alva*, that he promised *Life* to some *Prisoners*, but when they petitioned him for food, he returned, he *would grant them life, but no meal*, by which criticism of *courteous cruelty* the poor people were starved. If our Cathedrals have only a *Bare Being*, and be not supplied with seasonable repairs\* (the daily food of a Fabrick), soon will be *famished* to nothing.

“ As for the close of Lichfield, I have been credibly informed that the *Plague* (which long had raged therein) at the first shooting of Canon at the siege thereof did abate, imputed by *Naturalists* to the violent Purging of the air by Bullets, but by *Divines* to God’s goodness, who graciously would not have two miseries, of *War* and *Plague*, afflict one small place at one time.” †

We may regard Peterborough as a neighbour of Lichfield, about which Cathedral our Author writes : “ As St. *Peter* hath the Primacy of all the other *Apostles*, so the Cathedral dedicated unto him in *this County* (Northamptonshire) challengeth the precedence of all in England for a Majestick *Western* front of *Columel-work*. But alas ! this hath lately felt the misfortune of other Fabricks in this kind. Yea, as in a *Gangrean*, one member is cut off to preserve another.

\* What would Fuller have said if he could have seen the marvellous spirit of our age, which, though not a devout one, but rather materialistic, has witnessed the most wonderful and beautiful restorations of ‘God’s Houses in the Land,’ both Churches and Cathedrals, ever known in any generation ?

\* “ Staffordshire,” pp. 38-9.

† “ Oxfordshire,” p. 216.

So, I understand, the *Cloysters* of this *Cathedral* were lately plucked down to repair the *Body* thereof: and am heartily glad that God in His mercy hath restored the only remedy (I mean its lands) for the cure thereof.”\*

Norwich is κατ' ἔξοχην the Cathedral City of the Eastern Counties. It is the glory of East Anglia, its See having been removed there in 1091. The first bishopric of the Eastern Counties was founded at Dunwich, A.D. 630, thence removed to Elmham, in consequence of the Danish wars, 673, thence to Thetford, 1070, and finally to Norwich, 1091. Fuller thus writes of its Buildings: “The Cathedral therein is large and spacious, though the roof in the Cloysters be most commended. When some twenty years ago I was there, the top of the steeple was blown down, and an officer of the Church told me that the wind had done them much wrong, but they meant not to put it up, whether the wrong or the steeple, he did not disclose.

“As for the *Bishop's Palace*, it was formerly a very fair structure, but lately unleadèd, and new covered with tyle by the purchasers thereof, whereon a wag not unwittingly—

“ ‘Thus Palaces are altered, we saw  
John Leyden, now Wat Tyler, next Jack Straw.’

“Indeed, there be many thatc't houses in this city, so that *Luther* (if summoned by the Emperour to appear in this place) would have altered his expression and said, *Instead of Tyles of the house, that if every Straw on the roofs of the houses were a Devil, notwithstanding he would make his appearance.* However, such *thatch* is so artificially done

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\* “Northamptonshire,” p. 280.

(even sometimes on their *Chancels*) that it is no *eyesore* at all to the City.”\*

Fuller does not fail to do justice to the remarkable peculiarities connected with *Gloucester* Cathedral, in the following reflections: “The *Abbey* (since *Cathedral Church*) of *Gloucester* is a beautiful building, advanced by several successive abbots. It consisteth of a continued *Window-work*, but hath the loudest praises from the *Whispering-place* therein. Take its manner from that learned Author who (though it seems never seeing it) hath by his steady aim in Philosophy, better guessed and described it than I, who have been an eare and eye witnesse thereof.

*M* “There is a *Church* at *Gloucester* (and, as I have heard, the like is in some other places) where, if you speak against the wall, softly, another shall hear your voice better a good way off, than near hand. Enquire more particular of the Frame of that place. I suppose there is some *Vault*, or *Hollow*, or *Isle* behind the Wall, and some passage to it towards the farther end of that wall, against which you speak, so as the voice of him that speaketh slideth along the wall and then entereth at some passage, and communicateth with the *Air* of the Hollow: for it is preserved somewhat by the plain wall, but that is too weak to give a sound Audible till it had communicated with the back Air.” (Sir Francis Bacon in his “Natural History,” canto ii., num. 148.)

“The Church in all the siege of the City and our Civil Wars was decently preserved, which I observe to his commendation who was governor thereof. Since I have read that by Act of Parliament it was settled on the City to

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\* “Norwich,” p. 275.

maintain and repair, and hope their Practice hath proved precedential to other places in the same nature.”\*

But the See is that of Gloucester and Bristol, and touching the buildings of the latter, Fuller says, “*Ratcliffe Church* in this city clearly carrieth away the credit from all Parish-Churches in *England*. It was founded by *Canning*, first a merchant, who afterwards became a priest, and most stately the ascent thereunto by many stairs, which at last plentifully recompenseth their pains, who climb there up with the magnificent structure both without and within.

“ If any demand the cause why this church was not rather made the See of a Bishop than *St. Augustin's* in this City, much inferior thereunto, such may reason this reason thereof : that this (though an intire stately structure) was not conveniently accommodated as *St. Augustin's* (formerly a great monastery) with publick buildings about it for the Palace of a Bishop and the Reception of a *Dean* and *Chapter*. However, as the Town of *Hague* in *Holland* would never be walled about, as accounting it more credit to be the *biggest of Villages in Europe*, than but a *lesser City*, so *Ratcliffe Church* esteemeth it a greater grace to *lead the van* of all *Parochial* than to *follow* in Rear after many *Cathedral Churches in England*. †

“ The account of *Chester* Cathedral is interesting as having reference to the Royal Prerogative, and its connection with the Civil disturbances of those times. “*Saint Werburghes* Church is a fair structure,” our Author says, “ and had been

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\* “*Gloucestershire*,” p. 351.

† “*Bristol*,” pp. 13, 14. Since writing the above the revival of the See of Bristol has become an accomplished fact.

more beautiful if the tower thereof (intended, some say, for a steeple, the first stone whereof was laid 1508) had been finished. It was built long before the *Conquest*, and being much ruined was afterwards repaired by *Hugh Lupus*, first Earl of Chester. It was afterwards made by King *Henry the Eighth* one of *his five Royal Bishopricks, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough*, being the other *four*. I say *Royal Bishopricks*, as whose *Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions* were never confirmed by the *Pope*, nor *Baronies* by the *Parliament*.

"The first is plain, King *Henry the Eighth* erecting them after he had disclaimed the *Pope's supremacy*, and in the days of Queen *Mary*, when *England* was in some sort reconciled to *Rome*, the *Pope* thought not fit to contest with the Queen about that *Criticism* because these *five Bishopricks* were erected without his consent, but suffered them to be even as he found them. Their *Baronies* were also not (though their *Bishopricks* were) ever confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, so that they owed their *beings* solely to the *King's Prerogative*, who might as well have created *spiritual* as *temporal peers* by his own authority. And, therefore, when some *Anti-Prælatists* in the late *Long Parliamnt*, 1641, endeavoured to overthrow their *Baronies* (as an *Essay* and *Preludium* to the rest of the *Bishopricks*) for want of *Parliamentary Confirmation* they desisted from that design as *fond* and *unfeisable* on better consideration."\*

That there was an independent British National Church in Wales no one now doubts, and we will proceed to give one extract from our Author's Principality of Wales touching the

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\* "Chester," 188.

Metropolitan Church of St. David's. "For a sacred structure the Cathedral of St. *David's* is most eminent, began by Bishop *Peter* in the reign of King *John*, and finished by his successors, though having never seen it, I can say little thereof. But in one respect, the roof thereof is higher than any in *England*, and as high as any in *Europe*, if the ancient, absolute, and independent jurisdiction thereof be considered, thus stated by an authentick author :\* *Episcopi Walliae a Menevensi antistite sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est consecratus, nulla penitus alii Ecclesiae facta professione vel subjectione.* The generality of which words must be construed to have reference as well to *Rome* as to *Canterbury*, Saint *David's* acknowledging supremacy to neither, till the reign of King *Henry* the First."\*

It is now time to return to our own metropolitical Basilicas of London and Westminster, which are the pride, not only of every Englishman, but every member of the Anglo-Saxon race. But before doing so we may be allowed to insert our Author's account of Hampton Court Palace, which may prove interesting to our readers in this neighbourhood, a spot visited by nearly 300,000 persons annually, and which is very much in vogue with our trans-Atlantic brethren.

"Hampton Court," says Fuller, "was built by that pompous *Prelate*, *Cardinal Wolsey*, one so magnificent in his expenses, that whosoever considereth either of these

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\* Gerald, Hist. Camb., lib. i, esp. i.

\* "Worthies of Pembrokeshire, Wales," p. 56.

*three*, would admire that he had anything for the *other two* left unto him :—

viz., His { House-Building.  
                  House-Keeping.  
                  House-Furnishing.

He bestowed it on King *Henry the Eight*, who, for the greater grace thereof, erected it (Princes can confer dignities on *Houses* as well as *persons*) to be an Honour, increasing it with buildings till it became more like a small *City* than a *House*. Now whereas other royal Pallaces (*Holdenby, Oatlands, Richmond, Theobalds*) have lately found their fatal period, *Hampton Court* hath a happiness to continue in its former estate.

“ Non equidem invideo, miror magis, undique totis  
Usque adeo spoliatur agris.’

“ I envy not its happy lot, but rather thereat wonder:  
There’s such a rout, our land throughout, of *Pallaces* by  
*plunder’*

“ Let me add that Henry the *eight enforrested* the grounds hereabouts (the last of that kinde in *England*) though they attained the full reputation of a *Forrest*, in common discourse.”\*

Come we now to St. Paul’s Cathedral, London—a cathedral dear not only to every Anglican Churchman, but even to every Protestant of whatever denomination in the world. “ This is the only *Cathedral* in *Christendome*,” says Fuller, “ dedicated solely to that Saint (St. Paul’s). Great the pillars (little legs would bowe under so big a body) and small the windows thereof. Darknesse in those dayes being conceived to raise devotion, besides it made artificial lights

to appear with the more solemnity. It may be called the *Mother Church* indeed, having one Babe in her Body *St. Faith's*, and another in her Arms *St. Gregorie's*. Surely such who repair to Divine Service in *St. Paul's* may well be there minded of their *Mortality*, being living *people* surrounded with the *Antiperistasis* of the dead, both above and beneath them. For the present I behold *St. Paul's* Church as one struck with the dead palsie on one side : the East part and Quire thereof being quick and alive, well maintained and repaired, whilst the west part is ruinous and ready to fall down. Little hopes it will be repaired in its old Decayes, which is decayed in its new Reparations, and being formerly an ornament is now an eye-sore to the City : not to say unto the citizens in general, some being offended that it is so *bad*, and others that it is in no *worse* condition.

"The repairing of this church was a worthy monument of the Piety and Charity of Arch-bishop *Laud*, not only procuring the bounty of others, but expending his own estate thereon. We dispair not that his Majestie's zeal in commanding this work to their care will in due time meet with the favoured bounty of the Citizens. It is no sin to wish that those who have plundered the *Cloak* and *Cover* of *St. Paul's* (not left behind *by*, but) violently taken *from* him, might be compelled to make him a new one at their own cost, at leastwise to contribute more than ordinary proportions thereunto."\* This refers to old *St. Paul's*.

But what is to be said of *Westminster Abbey*?—"that Church so interwoven with all our English ideas in Church

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\* "London," p. 191.

and State ; the very centre, in some sort, for centuries, of our whole system ; whose beauty, as Queen among all our English Buildings, is admitted, not only by every connoisseur, but equally by every one who ever comes on any errand, however humble, to London, and who would hardly venture to return without seeing its far-famed interior ! The Church which, in spite of neglect, in spite of change of the most odious kind, still comes back to one in one's dreams as, after all, the most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom, even when the mind has filled itself with all the recollections which visits to the great Continental Cathedrals so abundantly supply. Here, indeed, it is hard to say how the work can be called English, in the thorough sense of the word, which is now insisted on."\*

Let us hear, then, what our Author has to say about the venerable pile. "The Abbey Church is beheld as a rare structure, with so small and slender *Pillars* (*greatest legs argue not the strongest Man*) to support so weighty a Fabrick, built by King Henry the 3rd, and afterwards much enlarged and beautified by the Abbots thereof.

"Adjoyning to it is the Chappel of King *Henry* the seventh, which *Leland* calls the *Miracle of the World*. Indeed, let the *Italians* deride our English, and condemn them for *Gothish* buildings, this they must admire, and make here take *notes of Architecture* (if their pride would permit them), to perfect theirs accordingly.

"In this Chappel the *founder* thereof, with his Queen,

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\* "Essay on the Study of Foreign Gothic Architecture, and its Influence on English Art," by George Edmund Street, R.A. "Church and World," p. 401.

lieth interred, under a monument of solid *Brass*, most richly gilded and artificially carved. Some slight it for the cheapness, because it cost but a *thousand pounds* in the making thereof. Such do not consider it the work of so *thrifty a Prince*, who would make a little money go far; besides that, it was just at the *Turning of the tide* (as one may term it) of *money*, which flowed after the finding of the *West-Indies*, though *ebbing before*.”\*

Thus far our learned Author with his critical architectural observations, more of which we should have liked to have transferred to our pages did space permit. For “time would fail to speak of the architectural beauties of these venerable buildings, and of their historical associations, which are known to most. Suffice it to say that they are connected with most of the greatest names in Church and State—with kings who have been crowned, with prelates who have had their thrones in them; the long line of English kings, the unbroken continuity of Anglican bishops, which recall memories of our English commonwealth, as well as reminiscences of our spiritual Zion from the very earliest times, when Britain’s Church entered into the galaxy and constellations of national Churches. The Cathedral is the Metropolitical Church of the Diocese: it is the central and maternal Church of all the other Churches comprehended in the jurisdiction of the See. It is the centre and symbol of unity, for it unifies the whole ecclesiastical system, and welds together the collective diocesan organizations and agencies.”

“There is, in point of fact, no more potential evidence,

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\* “Westminster,” p. 235.

no more enduring monument (*monumentum ære perennius*), no more pregnant illustrations of the antiquity and continuity of the Church of England at present existing, than our ecclesiastical *Buildings*—those glorious edifices, those monuments of former piety in their outer glory—our noble Basilicas, our lovely Abbeys, our grand Minsters, our parish Churches, and our venerable Cathedrals. They have also a grand future before them, and once more the age will re-echo the conviction of Lord Bacon, ‘Deans and Canons of Cathedrals are of great use.’ We may therefore fitly conclude these remarks by quoting a sonnet of one to whom the Cathedrals and Churches of our land, in fact the whole relationship of Church and State, were very dear, and who has been justly called one of our greatest ecclesiastical poets:—\*

“‘Open your gates, ye everlasting Piles !  
 Types of the spiritual Church which God hath rear’d :  
 Not loth we quit the newly hallow’d sward  
 And humble altar, ’mid your sumptuous aisles  
 To kneel, or thrid your intricate defiles,  
 Or down the nave to pass in motion slow ;  
 Watching, with upward eye, the tall tower grow  
 And mount, at every step, with living wills  
 Instinct—to rouse the heart and raise the will  
 By a bright ladder to the world above.  
 Open your gates, ye monuments of love  
 Divine ! Thou, *Lincoln*, on thy sovereign hill !  
 Thou, stately *York* ! and ye whose splendours cheer  
 Isis and Cam, to patient Science dear !’”

(Wordsworth’s “Ecclesiastical Sonnets,” xlvi. “Cathedrals,” p. 333.)

\* “Our Established Church; its History, Philosophy, Advantages, and Claims,” by the Rev. Morris Fuller, pp. 288, 316.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RESTORATION, AND FULLER'S PANEGYRIC TO  
CHARLES II. (1660.)

"The constancy of the Doctor's to his first model and main of his design doth most evidently argue his firm persuasion and belief of the reviving of the *Royall Cause*, since he wrote the most part during those improbable times of any Restitution ; and he had very ill consulted his own advantage, if he had not well consulted the oracles of God."—(*Anonymous Life*, p. 53.)

HE beginning of the year 1660," says Mr. Perry, in his "History of the Church of England," "was a time of fearful excitement in England. Men's hearts, long agitated by uncertainty and perplexed by change, were earnestly longing for something stable and fixed, and, for the most part, saw the hope of this nowhere but in the King's Restoration. But no man could say how that Restoration was to be brought about. The Parliament was enacting ordinances religious and civil, as if it contemplated a long continuance of its present power. General Monk, reserved, dark, and unsathomable, let none into the secret designs which he was cherishing, and covered his projects with an unscrupulous dissimulation. The army was agitated and uneasy. Lambert had still partisans there, and the power of the sectaries was still strong. Gradually, however, as

the General hastened the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and as the constituencies returned one after another Royalist members for the new assembly, the mists began a little to disperse, and men felt that the King would return, but on what conditions, and by what agency, was still uncertain.

“Some of the Episcopal clergy, with a zeal beyond discretion, begin to give open expression to their hopes. Dr. Griffith, preaching at Mercer’s Chapel, on March 25th, spoke so palpably in the old strain, on the fear of God and the King, that he was committed to prison; and Sir E. Hyde, writing to Dr. Barwick, severely condemns such indiscretions as very hurtful to the royal cause.”\*

All eyes were, in point of fact, now turned towards Breda, and the Hague began to swarm with loyal Englishmen belonging to the Royalist cause. The chief men in Church and State, the leading spirits of the good old Constitutional Cause, were preparing to worship the rising sun. Events were following in quick succession, but all pointed towards Breda, and the return of the exiled King. Shortly before the King’s Restoration it seems quite clear that Fuller had gone to the Hague, in confidential connection with the chain of circumstances, which were leading up to the return of the royal exile. His anonymous biographer is very clear upon this point. He says that Fuller went over in the retinue of a “right noble lord” as chaplain, viz., Lord Berkeley, who also interested himself much in the preferment of our Author, whom he was very desirous

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\* Perry’s “History of the Church of England,” vol. ii. pp. 272-3.

of, and had made arrangements for, preaching before His Majesty, that King Charles might judge for himself of Fuller's predicatorial powers, about whom he had already received favourable notice. But this intention was frustrated by the "haste and despatch which that great affair (the Restoration) required in the necessity of the King's presence here."\* It is also remarked by Oldys that Lord Berkeley was anxious that the King should hear Fuller's excellence in the pulpit, and also his felicitations upon the resolution of the people to receive and obey their King. There are also two or three references in Pepys with regard to Fuller's visit to the Hague and meeting him there. The various deputations were at this time making the best of their way to Breda, besides other influential personages, so that the little Dutch town literally "swarmed with English." Fuller has made a note of this influx of visitors in the opening stanzas of his *Panegyric* :—

"The impatient Land did for your presence long,  
*England* in swarms did into *Holland* throng.  
To bring your Highness *home*, by th' Parliament  
*Lords, Commons, Citizens, Divines* were sent ;  
Such honour *Subjects* never had before,  
Such honour *Subjects* never shall have more."

Among the Divines, who went over with the Commissioners from the City of London, was Dr. Hardy, who preached an eloquent and elegant discourse on May 20th, from Isa. xx. 19, "Thy dead men shall live. Awake and sing," &c., applying it to the present condition of affairs. With the return of the Episcopal regimen, it was but natural that the claim of the Divines of the old church should be now freely discussed.

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\* "Life," p. 104.

Amongst others on the spot was the celebrated Diarist, Pepys, who has left on record lively reminiscences of these stirring scenes and thrilling events. He had gone over in the *Naseby*, the flag-ship of his patron and kinsman, Sir Edward Montagu, in the capacity of secretary to the generals. It was here that the Diarist met with our Author, but there can be no question that they must have met before as Fuller was very intimate with the Montagu family, through his old friend, Lord Montagu, who had opposed the King's trial. But besides these Montagus, Fuller seems to have been connected also with the Admiral Montagu's family, for Pepys relates that he began to come on May 21st, at Deal, "to teach Mr. Edward (the Admiral's young son) who has a very good foundation laid for his Latin by Mrs. Fuller." Lord Berkeley was one of the Commissioners of the House of Lords, an intimate friend of the Admiral's, and with him, as we have seen, Fuller sailed. There were also three others of the Lords Commissioners who were personally known to our Author, the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Viscount Hereford, and Lord Brook. Besides which many of Fuller's friends and patrons were among the Commissioners of the Commons and City of London, who waited on the King.

It was upon the arrival of the ships at the Hague, that we find Pepys's first inserted record, touching Fuller, under the date May 17th, 1660, to the following effect: "From the King (I went to the Lord Chancellor, *i.e.* Hyde) who did lie bed-rid of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child (*i.e.*, young Edward Montagu) and me. After that, going to see the Queen of Bohemia, I met Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edward Pickering,

while I and the rest went to see the Queen, who used us very respectfully, her hand we all kissed." Fuller makes two allusions to his visit to Holland, one in his "Worthies," Northamptonshire, p. 301. "Sure I am the *Hollanders* (the best copy of thrift in Christendom) teach their *little ditches* to bear *boats*." Not that their waters are more docile in this kind than ours, but they are the more *ingenious* and *industrious* Schoolmaster, of the lesson of publick advantage making every place in their *Province* to have access unto every place therein, by such cheap transportation." Which points to a personal observation, and the other is his reference to the waggon in Holland, going to and returning from their stages at set hours, though they carry but one passenger.

Events now followed quick in succession, for the Dawn of the Restoration had come at length. Grenville had delivered to the two Houses of Parliament the letters addressed to them by the King. Monk read the letter to the Officers of the Army, and Montagu to the Captains of the Navy under his command, that to the City by the Lord Mayor to the Common Council. Each of these bodies voted an address of thanks and loyal congratulations to the King.

The paper which accompanied the letters promised *three* points. (1.) Granted a general pardon to all persons without distinction except in the cases of exception to be hereafter settled by Parliament. It also urged all the loyal subjects of the same sovereign to live in unison and harmony. (2.) Under this second head, liberty was declared to tender consciences and guaranteed that no man should be called to account to differences in religious thought provided they

didn't militate against the general welfare, and disturb the peace of the kingdom. (3). The matter of the actual possessors of estates, whether by purchase or otherwise, was to be left to the wisdom of Parliament for settlement, and lastly, to liquidate the arrears of payment of the army, retaining the services of the officers and men on the same terms as heretofore.

This was the celebrated declaration from Breda, the Royal Charter, on the faith of which, Charles was permitted to ascend the throne of his fathers.

Encouraged by the bursts of loyalty which had been generated by the receipt of Charles's letters, his friends were eager to secure his return before any further limitation could be put on the prerogative. The Lords, being full of Cavaliers, were quite to be relied on, and no serious opposition, such was the present temper of the House from the Commons. The two Houses both voted that by the ancient and fundamental laws of the Realm, the Government ought to be by King, Lords and Commons: they also invited him to come and take the crown to which he was born, voting him a sum of money for immediate necessities. The Parliament ordered the arms and insignia of the Commonwealth to be effaced, and the Royal Arms to be substituted in their place. The Royal style was to be re-introduced in the Liturgy, the accession of the King dating back from the death of his father.

Two members of the House, Hale, the celebrated lawyer, and Prynne, ventured to remind the Commons of the general interests of the nation, and to recommend them to pause in their enthusiasm, hoping to return to the lines of the settlement in 1648, and to come to an amicable

and mutual understanding all round. But this movement was overborne by Monk, who feared the re-opening of old animosities and complications, which might lead up to fresh perplexity. He promised the King should come alone, accompanied with no army, and that he should be as constitutionally ordered at Westminster as at Breda. If limitations should be still necessary, they could be tendered for his acceptance upon his arrival. This speech was hailed with applause, and the House resounded with the acclamation of the Cavaliers. The advocates of the enquiry, awed by the passing wave of enthusiasm, deemed it prudent to desist.

Soon after, the two Houses attended while the king was proclaimed, with great solemnity, in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar (May 8th, 1660).

A committee of Lords and Commons was then despatched to invite his Majesty to return and take possession of the Government.

The address of invitation was as eagerly accepted by Charles as it had been voted by the Houses. From Breda he had gone to the Hague, the seat of the Dutch Government on which account some called it his capital, where the States, anxious to atone for their former neglect, entertained him with unusual magnificence. The British fleet had anchored in the bay of Sheveling, under Montagu, and, as soon as the weather permitted, Charles embarked for Dover, where he was met by Monk at the head of the nobility and gentry from the neighbouring counties, anxious to welcome their returning sovereign. Charles landed in England May 26th, 1660, the Holy Communion having been celebrated on board the "Naseby," at a very early hour in the morning;

probably by Cosin, the King's Chaplain, whose influence was afterwards so great in the revision of the Prayer Book. Charles embraced the general, bade him walk by his side, and took him up with him into the royal carriage. The progress of the king from Dover to London resembled a triumphal procession. The roads leading to the capital were crowded by persons eager at once to testify their loyalty and gratify their curiosity. On Blackheath the King was received by the Army, which had been drawn up in battle array, and as he marched through the several ranks was received with acclaim. At St. George's fields the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entertained him with a sumptuous repast : from London bridge to Whitehall, the houses were hung with tapestry, and the streets all strewn with flowers, were lined by the regulars and officers who had served under Charles I. The king entered the metropolis on his birthday, and never had there been such joy in England before. Bells merrily clanged from every church tower and steeple, and old Cavaliers who had fought at Edgehill and Naseby were for very gladness beyond measure delighted. Three thousand horsemen preceded the King attired in splendid dresses, attended by trumpeters and footmen ; the Lord Mayor followed, carrying a naked sword ; after him the Lord General and Duke of Buckingham. The King himself riding between his two brothers, bringing up the rear, the general's life guard, five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen, closed the imperial cavalcade. Arrived at Whitehall, Charles dismissed the civil authorities, and received the two Houses, whose speakers addressed him in terms of glowing gratulation and were warmly responded to, the King promising to guarantee the liberty and interests of

his liege subjects. The ceremonies of this important and never to be forgotten day were prolonged late into the evening, when Charles observed to some of his more intimate courtiers, “ It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before, for I have met with no one to day, who did not protest that he always wished for my Restoration,” which was the name given to this great event. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birthday, and the fond imagination of his loyal and sympathizing subjects naturally interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

“ That the re-establishment of Royalty,” says Lingard, “ was a blessing to the country,” will hardly be denied, it presented the best, perhaps the only means of restoring public tranquillity amidst the confusion, the distrust, the animosities and hatreds, the parties and interests, which had been generated by the events of the civil war, and by a rapid succession of opposite and ephemeral governments. To Monck belongs the merit of having by his foresight and caution, effected the desirable object, without bloodshed or violence, but to his dispraise it must also be recorded, that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch. Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining by mutual consent the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. That Charles would have consented to such conditions, we have sufficient evidence: but when the measure was proposed the Lord General declared himself its most determined opponent. It may have been, that his cautious mind figured to itself danger in delay; it is more

probable that he sought to give additional value to his services in the eye of the new sovereign. But whatever were the motives of his conduct, the result was that the King ascended the throne unfettered with conditions, and thence inferred that he was entitled to all the powers claimed by his father at the commencement of the civil war. In a few years the consequence became manifest. It was found that by the negligence or perfidy of Monk, a door had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the Crown and the People : and that very circumstance, which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of these kingdoms.”\*

We can well imagine that Restoration Day gave Fuller intense satisfaction as it did to Evelyn, the diarist, “The good Doctor, says the anonymous biographer, who gets ‘fuller at the close of his life,’ was so piously fixt as nothing else might presume to intrude upon his raised gladdened spirits.” This exuberance of loyal spirit stirred up once more his poetic muse, and he broke out into a dutiful effusion towards the returned monarch and restoration of the monarchy. It is called a *Panegyrick* to His Majesty, by Thomas Fuller, D.D., printed for John Playford, at his shop in the Temple, 1660 ; a poem consisting of forty-two stanzas of six lines each, and gives a good idea of the delirious excitement of this hour, and of the bright hopes entertained of the newly-returned monarch.

Mr. Russell observes, “This, I suppose, was that John

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\* Lingards “History of England,” vol. viii. p. 304.

Playford who put forth forty or more tunes, in part taken from the tunes printed in our Prayer Book from about 1560, but by him harmonized in a more modern and flowing, but less solemn style than that of Ravenscroft, and the composers who enriched his incomparable Psalmody of 1621.”\*

In this poem (which is also mostly incorporated in Fuller’s “Worthies” under the division of “Worcestershire”) Fuller begins with a recollection of Charles’ escape after the battle of Worcester, and Captain Lane’s participation in that event. He also alludes, in a moralising strain, to the wanderings of the royal exile, his experience of men and manners, and the wise selection of “only the good qualities of those with whom he happened to take up his abode” :—

“ Garbling men’s manners, you did well divide,  
 To take the *Spaniard’s wisdom*, not their pride :  
 With *French activity* you stor’d your mind.  
 Leaving to them their *ficklenessse* behind ;  
 And soon did learn, your *temperance* was such  
 A sober *industry*, even from the *Dutch*.”

The eulogium goes on to notice the proffers which Rome made to the King, but which “you with sacred scorn refused” (6) :

“ With rich conditions *Rome* did you invite,  
 To purchase for their *Royall Proseylyte*,  
 (An *empty soul’s* some tempted with *full coffers*)  
 Whilst you with sacred scorn refused their proffers,  
 And for the *Faith* did earnestly *contend*  
*A broad*, which now you do at home defend.”

In the ninth stanza he gracefully alludes to Monk, and the instrumentality whereby the restoration was effected :

\* “Memorials,” p. 293.

The *Pillar*, which God's people did attend  
 To them in *night* a constant *Light* did lend,  
 Though *Dark* unto the Egyptians behind,  
 Such was brave Monck in his reserved mind :  
 A *Riddle* to his foes he did appear,  
 But to you and *Himself*, *sense* plain and clear."

The day of Restoration, when Charles entered London,  
 was indeed a "happy day" : (10)

" By means unlikely God achieves his *end*,  
 And *crooked* ways straight to His Honour tend,  
 The great and ancient Gates of LONDON Town,  
 (No *gates*, no *city*) now are voted down,  
 And down were cast, 'O' happy day' for all,  
 Do Date our *hopeful rising* from their fall."

And Charles' return was effected without blood, or  
 "foreign hand" (11) :—

" Men's *loyal thoughts* conceived their *Time* was *good*,  
 But *God's* was *best*, without one drop of Blood  
 By a *dry conquest*, without forraign hand,  
 (*Self-hurt* and now) *Self-healed* is our Land.  
 This *silent Turn* did make no noise, O strange !  
 Few saw the *changing*, all beheld the *change*!"

Which silent but effectual work he likens to Solomon's  
 Temple :—

" So *Solomon* most wisely did conceive  
 His *Temple* should be Still-Born though Alive.  
 That Stately Structure started from the *ground*,  
 Unto the *roof*, not guilty of the sound,  
 Of *Iron Tool*, all noise therein debarr'd :  
 This *Virgin-Temple* thus was *seen*, not heard."

Even the elements, the wind and sea, were all favouring  
 the King's return, and the seas rightfully belong to the

Monarch of the Isles, and the *Naseby* is drowned in the Charles :—

“ You land at Dover, shoals of people come,  
And Kent alone now seems all Christendom,  
The *Cornish Rebels* (*eight score summers since*)  
At *Black-heath* fought against their lawful Prince.  
Which doleful place, with hatefull *Treason* stain'd  
Its credit now by *Loyalty* regain'd ” (16).

The 17th stanza alludes to the triumphal entry into London on Restoration Day :—

“ Great London, the last Station you did make,  
*You took* not it, but LONDON you did *take* ;  
And now no wonder Men did silence break.  
When *Conduits* did both French and Spanish speak.  
Now at White-Hall the Guard, which you attends.  
Keeps out your Foes, *God keep you from your Friends.*”

The universal joy is depicted in the following stanza :—

“ The bells aloud did ring, for joy they felt  
Hereafter Sacrilege shall not them melt.  
And round about the *Streets* the *Bonfiers* blaz'd,  
With which New Lights *Fanatiques* were amaz'd.  
The brandisht Swords this Boon begg'd before Death,  
Once to be *shew'd*, then buried in the Sheath.”

The feelings of the Spaniards and the French, and the astonishment of the Germans, Danes and Dutch are thus characteristically delineated, whereupon our Poet-Author burst out in the following loyal strain (21) :—

“ Long live our gracious *Charles*, second to none  
In *Honour*, who ere sate upon the *Throne* :  
Be you above your Ancestors renown'd,  
Whose *Goodness* wisely doth your greatness bound :  
And knowing you may be *what you would*,  
Are pleased to be only *what you should.*”

Not only was the returned Monarch England's King, but Europe's Arbitrator (22) :—

“Europe's great Arbitrator in your choice,  
Is plac'd of *Christendom* the Casting Voice :  
Hold you the scales in your judicious Hand  
And when the equal *Beam* shall doubtful stand ;  
As you are pleased to dispose one *grain*,  
So falls or riseth either *France* or *Spain*.”

As in the case of the Queen of Sheba, the half had not been told of his Fame :—

“As *Sheba's Queen* defective *Fame* accus'd,  
Whose niggardly Relations had abus'd ;  
The abundant worth of *Solomon*, and told  
Not half of what she after did behold :  
The same your case, *Fame* hath not done you right  
Our *Ears* are far out-acted by our Sight.”

The concluding stanzas are in the highest eulogistic strain :

“Your self's the *ship* return'd from *forreign trading*  
*England's* your *Port*, *Experience* the *lading* ;  
God is the *Pilot*, and now richly fraught  
Unto the *Port* the ship is safely brought :  
What's *dear* to you, is to your subjects cheap,  
You sow'd with *pain*, what we with *Pleasure* reap.  
“The *Good-made Laws* by you are now *made good*,  
The *Prince* and *People's* right both understand.  
Both being bank'd in their respective station  
No fear hereafter of an inundation.  
*Oppression*, the King's Evil, long indur'd  
By *others* caused—by You alone is cur'd.”

No one can doubt the loyalty of this production, and although the poetry is not of the highest order, Fuller was so far satisfied with the flight of his Muse, that he not only published the *Panegyrick* separately, but also incorporated it

in his “Worthies” (under “Worcestershire”) which he had intended dedicating to His Majesty himself, an intention carried out by his elder son, John, as we have seen. The stanzas were forty in number, but only a selection of twenty-five are inserted in the “Worthies,” with a few alterations. It was after the mention of Worcester Fight that his Muse “heartily craveth leave to make an humble address to His Majesty, depositing at his feet the ensuing *Panegyrick*.”

“Since, how God hath conducted his Majesty miraculously through laberynths of many difficulties, to the Peaceable Possession of His Throne, is notoriously known to the wonder of the world.”

At the conclusion of the stanzas he adds these words. “And here my Muse craves her own *Nunc Dimitis*, never to make verses more : and because she cannot write on a *better*, will not write on *another* occasion, but heartily pray in prose for her lord and Master. And now having taken *Vale of Verses*, let us therewith take also our *farewell* of Worcestershire.”\*

The Restoration meant not only the Restoration of the Monarchy, but also that of the old Historical and National Church. But the services of the Church were not suddenly changed, and there was the greatest confusion in the transition. Turning to Pepys’ Diary, we read under date July 1st : “In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.”

Again, under date July 29th, Pepys’ writes : “With my lord to Whitehall Chappel, where I heard a cold sermon of

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\* “Worcestershire,” p. 184.

the Bishop of Salisbury's (Duppa), and the ceremonies did not please me ; they do so overdo them."

At the same place October 4th. : "We saw Dr. Frewen translated to the Archbishopric of York. There I saw the Bishops of Winchester (Duppa), Bangor, Rochester (Warner), Bath and Wells, Salisbury (Henchman, now married to Fuller's cousin), all in their habits, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel. But, Lord, at their going out how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect."

The Restoration of the ancient constitution of the country involved the Restoration of the ancient church, and consequently of its ancient system of devotion as represented by the Book of Common Prayer. As the time drew near for the return of Charles II. to the throne of his fathers, Prayer books were brought from their hiding-places, printers began to prepare a fresh supply, and its Offices began to be openly used, as in the case of the good and great Dr. Hammond, who was interred with the proper Burial Service on April 26th, 1660. Before the end of 1660, the demand for Prayer Books had been so great, notwithstanding the number of old ones, which had been preserved, that three several editions in folio, quarto, and a smaller size are known to have been printed. As soon as the Court was settled at Whitehall, Divine Service was restored at the Chapel Royal. On July 8th, Evelyn records in his Diary (ii. 152), that, "from henceforth was the Liturgy publicly used in our Churches." Patrick is known to have used it in his Church July 2nd, and Cosin, who had resumed his old place as Dean of Peterborough, immediately began to use it in his Cathedral in the same month.

The Liturgy began to be publicly read later on in this month, yet some months after Pepys remarks, at St. Olave's, that the minister began "to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying 'Glory be to the Father, &c.,' after he had read the two Psalms, but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer." It is evident from these extracts how completely the Sectaries—both Presbyterians and Independents had done their work in stamping out the services of the Church, and effacing all idea of her Liturgy and Divine offices. "Meantime," as Mr. Perry says in his "History of the Church of England," "throughout the towns and villages of England, the deprived clergy, who had lived to see the ancient order of things restored, were everywhere being reinstated in their benefices. In all cases where individual application was made to the Parliament, orders were at once issued to the Churchwardens to sequestrate the profits of the benefice for the sake of the legal possessor till he could take possession. No formal re-induction was needed as there had never been any deprivation recognised by the law of the land, and from the first moment the restraining power being taken off, the clergy at once succeeded to their former cures. Difficulties, however, would naturally occur in some cases and to remove them the Parliament passed an Act during its first session to facilitate the change. It had been conceded by the Government that wherever the legal Incumbent was dead, the intruder, however, wanting in former title, should keep his place. This, which he thought to bear somewhat hardly on the rights of patrons, was, however, under the circumstances, substantially just. For a brief period the irregular Incumbents, without being made subject to any of the

Ecclesiastical Laws, were allowed to remain unmolested, until it should be seen whether they could comply with the requirements which the Church should formally demand of them, or prefer to resign their livings to save their consciences."

"Severer measures were taken with regard to the Church and Crown lands, which had been illegally sold during the rebellion. A restoration of these was at once insisted on, and by this means many persons, innocent of any evil designs against King and Church, who had repurchased these lands, became great sufferers. The Cathedral appointments were speedily filled up, as it was necessary for the Chapter to be in integrity before a regular election of Bishops could take place, and as soon as this was done the king proceeded to nominate to the vacant Sees.\*

Nine Bishops had survived the troubles, and now appeared ready to resume their places, or to be translated to more important ones, of these the Prelate held in highest esteem was William Juxon, Bishop of London, "a man, if not of profound learning, yet of spotless integrity, charity, and meekness." He was, though in weak health, translated to the Primacy of Canterbury. One of the most disciplinarian and unpopular of the Laudian Bishops, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, had passed the twenty years of the rebellion in the Tower, but emerged at the conclusion of his incarceration, with undiminished energy to resume the duties of his former charge. Dr. Pierce, of Bath and Wells, a man of similar spirit had also survived.

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\* Perry's "History of the Church of England," vol. ii. 302-3.

Besides whom, there were six others, but not of so great repute, Skinner, Bishop of Oxford ; Roberts, Bishop of Bangor ; Warner, Bishop of Rochester ; King, Bishop of Chichester ; Brian Dupper, Bishop of Salisbury ; and Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Dupper appears to have been a great favourite with the King, whose tutor he had been, and was translated to the richer See of Winchester. Accepted Frewen (sprung from a Puritanical stock, as his name suggested) was translated to the Archbishopric of York.

But it was upon the men who, in all the late troubles out of all the loyal sufferers and learned Divines whom the Church had still kept faithful to her, would be selected for the high dignity of the Episcopate, that the attention of the country was fixed.

Of these the most eminent was the venerable Robert Sanderson. We have already alluded to his firmness and dignity in carrying on the parochial duties at Boothby Pagnell, whence he issued for the guidance of the Church those admirable sermons with their bold and truth-telling prefaces. He has been called the Hooker of the seventeenth century, and was preferred to the Bishopric of Lincoln. George Morley, the friend and Chaplain of Edward Hyde (the new Lord Chancellor) was selected for Worcester, who had done good work in bringing about the Restoration. Another of this coterie was Gilbert Sheldon, who was made Bishop of London, a man “who had an art,” says Burnel, that was peculiar to him, of treating all who came to him in a most obliging manner, he was a very dexterous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment.” Dr. Cosin was promoted to the rich See of

Durham, as a well deserved reward for having through long years of exile ministered to the English refugees in France, resisted and defeated all the Jesuit machinations, and upheld the ritual discipline and doctrine of the English Church at a time of much difficulty and perplexity. The See of Chester went to Dr. Bryan Walter as a reward for his great work of the Polyglott Bible, perfected during the usurpation. Dr. Gauden was nominated to the See of Exeter for his services to the Royal cause in publishing the *Eikon Basilike*, and for his books in defence of the Church of England, and pleadings for her troubles. Dr. Monk, brother to the General, obtained the See of Hereford.

Other appointments were likewise filled up, but when there was such a vast amount of claims and services, when there were old clergy who had made their mark twenty years ago, and could point to their loyalty and sufferings ever since, and younger clergy personally known to the King, and who had served his cause, it was impossible to fill up the vacancies in such a way as to give universal satisfaction. “There must needs have been,” observes Mr. Perry, “numberless instances of the same sort, where the sufferers were so many, and the spirit of devotion to the Crown so ardent: but it was enough for the greater part of those noble-hearted men, who rather than take the Covenant, and abjure the faith to which they were pledged, and which they loved, had borne joyfully the spoiling of their goods, to see what they were now permitted to witness. They had been rudely expelled from the Old Parsonages, driven from their positions of respect and usefulness, denied the exercise of their sacred office, fined, imprisoned, and

persecuted, and the finger of scorn and derision pointed at them—it was enough for them to taste the sweetness of return to the old familiar spots, and their much loved Church and Liturgy, without expecting any other reward. Had they not a share in the general joy of the nation, and the glad welcome of many humble and faithful souls wearied of fanatical grimaces and the buffoonery of a mock religionism.\* “A general joy and peace,” says good old Isaac Walton, “seemed to breathe through the three nations : the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had long, like the children of Israel, sat lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their secessions, restored to their revenues, and at liberty to adore, praise and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them.”† “Blessed be the days,” says Sancroft with an eloquent burst of feeling, “(let God regard it from above, and a more than common light shine upon it) in which we see the phoenix arising from her funeral pile, and taking wing again : our holy mother the Church standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking beauty again for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness, remounting the Episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven with her : her hands spread abroad to bless and ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent ; her breast flowing with the sincere milk of the Word : and

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\* “Perry, Church of England,” vol. ii., p. 310.

† “Life of Sanderson.” Wordworth’s “Eccle. Biog.” iv. 454.

girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns and prescripts apostolical.”\*

But to return to our Author, most of the ecclesiastical appointments, as we have just seen, had been rapidly exhausted, and the claims of many for vacant benefices and dignities from the comparatively limited number could not possibly be satisfied; but honours were being conferred on batches of Cavalier Parsons, and other loyal persons. Fuller was no self-seeker, and his name was omitted in the selection for the higher dignities, but a degree of Doctor of Divinity was his first share in the latter bestowments. Our Author’s deserts having been made known to the King, the latter issued the following letter to the University of Cambridge :—

Charles R.—“Whereas the violence of the late Commotions hath had soe sad an influence upon our two Universities that diverse Schollars of integrity and good learning have bin hindered in the due way of proceeding to their respective degrees; And Wheras We are well satisfyed of the full standing Sufficiency and merit of *Edmund Porter, Richard Drake, Anthony Sparrow, Robert Pory, and Thomas Fuller, Batchelours in Divinity: Richard Watts, William Belk, and John Breton, Mrs. of Art, as duely qualified for the Degrees of Doctor of Divinity, and of Robert Crane, Master of Arts, for the degree of Doctor in the Civill Law.* And alsoe well assured of their particular and eminent Sufferings for our selfe and ye Church during the late distracions whilst We were kept from our Dominions. Our will and pleasure is that (dispensing with the irregularities that may relate to this affaire) you admitt them to ye Degree of Doctors in Divinity and Law without those previous usages and per-

\* Sancroft’s “Ordination Sermon.” D’Oyley’s “Life of Sancroft,” ii. 346.

formances which are ordinary required in our University reserving to each his seniority. And further We require that all persons requisite to this action doe give their assistance to ye compleat investing them in the saed degree Which We require may be without any subsequent conditions upon which they shall not have conveniency to attend. And for soe doeing this Shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Whithall, this 2d day of August, in the Twelfe yeere of our Reigne."

To our trusty and well beloved ye Vice Chancellor and Provice Chancellour of our University of Cambridge for the time being to be communicated in the Convocation.

By His Maties. Command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Letr. to Cambridge for Dr. Degree.

In consequence of this Royal Mandate our Author was admitted to his Doctorate Degree, August of that year (1660), together with the others mentioned in this Letter from the King to the University of Cambridge. If not so substantial an honour as other more prominent Divines had received, it pointed to the fact that the King had recognised our Author's merit, both from his literary works and continued devotion to the Royal cause, and took this early opportunity of marking his sense of approbation. But Fuller was not the only Queens' man so honoured, for amongst this batch of selected ones we notice the name of Anthony Sparrow. He had been ejected from Queens' College and his Suffolk living, but he afterwards became its President in 1662. He lived to be Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, and to write the *Rationale* of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which he published when Lord Bishop of Exeter (1684): a work, not only of great intrinsic merit, but containing the celebrated frontispiece showing the position of the Litany desk or Fald-stool at that time. "The Litany to be said or sung in the midst of the Church. The Priest

goeth from out of his seat into the Body of the Church, and (at a low desk before the chancel door, called the Fald-stool) kneels, and says or sings the Litany. (See the Prophet Joel ii. 17)."

Dr. Sparrow was consecrated Bishop of Exeter 1667, and was translated to the See of Norwich (on the death of Dr. Reynolds) in 1676, where he died 1688. Richard Drake, who also received the degree of D.D., was Chancellor of Sarum, and translator of Bishop Andrewe's *Devotions*. The Royal Mandate took effect about the month of September this same year.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

“ FULLER RETURNS TO THE SAVOY.” HIS FAMOUS  
MEMORY. (1660-1)

“For this *People* (his ancient flock of the *Savoy*) the Doctor had alwayes a more especial respect and kindness, which was the rather heightened in him out of compassion to their state and condition. Nor did he more tenderly affect them then they universally respect him, receiving him (as indeed he was) as an Angel of God, sent to minister unto them heavenly things, in exchange whereof they freely gave him their hearts and hands.  
—(*Anonymous Life*, p. 50.)



HERE is nothing more remarkable, says Mr. Loftie, in his “Memorials of the Savoy,” “than the way in which the long perspective of past time brings certain figures into prominence, while it suffers others to fall out of sight. When we are near a lighthouse, the waves seem to dash over it, and at times even to conceal it. But when we are farther away the waves are no more seen, while the light shines out clearly and brightly. And so, when we read the life of a good man, when we note the events of his career, when we enumerate his friends, and perhaps examine the doings of his enemies: while we trace his steps as he surmounted difficulties and avoided dangers, and fought through obstructions till he reached the goal, we are often confused among the names and places, the people and scenes, the events and compli-

cations by which his course was marked. But when, after a time, we begin to forget his immediate surroundings, when he becomes more of an historical character to us, we are able to estimate his greatness by the way in which his deeds or his words are still like shining lights among us, and as the people among whom he lived and walked become hidden in the obscurity of ages, we are able to observe how his figure comes out from those of his associates, and illustrates the same truth now, which centuries ago he strove to point to his contemporaries. It is thus in a remarkable degree with the character of Fuller. As the quaint epitaph on his monument at Cranford states, he spent his life making others immortal, and thereby attained immortality himself: a sentence which is true of him in a double sense, for though the reference is there first to his great work, the *Worthies of England*, it also holds good to the work he performed as a clergyman, and especially to that part of his work which was performed in the Savoy, and among the predecessors of the congregation who still assemble where he for the last time preached the Gospel of peace.”\*

Mr. Loftie then proceeds to give a short biographical sketch of our Author, in which he expresses this very admirable summary of his character. “His career was thus passed among events and trials sufficient to make most men partisans and to disturb the most even temperaments. But it is Fuller’s greatest praise that, living in the midst of strife, he took no part in it, that nothing shook his faith, that no employment caused him to deviate from the strict path

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\* “Memorials of the Savoy,” p. 180.

of duty, that the end of his labours was to spread abroad the knowledge of truth, to comfort the fatherless and the widow, to show the cheerfulness of an undaunted Christian spirit, and to make all men know the possibility of moderation when passion and prejudice were the ruling powers." He thus illustrates his faith from the quaint sentence put into one of his epigrams.

Coming back to Fuller's frequent connection with the Savoy, the Author of its memorials continues : " Fuller began his ministrations in the Savoy, in the year 1641, and he remained here at first for three years. He was in London, therefore, in the most exciting times ; and his preaching was thought so much of, that it was said he had two congregations, one within the Church, and the other consisting of those who could not get in, but crowded about the windows and doors to get within reach of his voice." It is possibly in reference to the hour-glass in the pulpit here that he says, in speaking of another preacher, Dr. Holdsworth, that "whereas the London people honour their pastors for a short time, his was measured by a large glass," a sentence which may well be applied to his own preaching. He used his influence not in adding to the violence of party feeling, which then ran so high, but endeavouring by all means in his power to make peace among the contending factions ; and among the sermons of his, which are still extant, there is one preached here, with this aim, in December, 1642, just as the terrible war broke out. He chose for his text the words, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and said, "We are used to *end* our sermons with a blessing. Christ *began* his with the beatitudes ; and of the eight my text is neither the last nor the least." The *best work*, he says, is *peace*.

making ; and the best wages, that they who make peace are blessed. Advocating peace, then, he is careful to be moderate even in this, refusing to ask for peace at any price, but peace without any sacrifice of truth. Yet the sword, he says, is the worst way of finding truth, for “it cannot discern between truth, error, and falsehood ; it may have two edges, but it hath never an eye.”\*

Mr. Loftie then alludes to our Author’s essay on *Moderation*, which we have frequently alluded to in the body of this work, and which he pertinently remarks, “is well worth reading at the present day,” giving some quotations. Continuing Fuller’s connection with the Savoy, he observes, “Towards the middle of 1643 he was forced to fly from the Savoy.” He did so with the utmost regret, following King Charles to Oxford. His last sermon, preached in this Church, before his departure is also still extant, and prefixed to it is an epistle, “To my dear parish, S. Mary, Savoy,” full of touching allusions to his sorrow at leaving them, and his hope that peace might at length return. “The longer,” he says, “I see this war, the less I like it, and the more I loathe it. Not so much because it threatens temporal ruin to our Kingdom, as because it will bring a spiritual hardness of hearts. And if the war long continues we may be affected for the departure of Charity, as the Ephesians were of the going away of St. Paul, sorrowing most of all that we shall see the face thereof no more.”

Fuller followed the King’s Army to the field, and endeavoured to do what he could to succour the wounded and comfort the dying. Another preacher took possession

of his pulpit here, and he himself, like many of the Clergy of his time, when the war was over, wandered from one place to another, patronized by moderate men, and loved by all. He says, "For the first five years during our actual Civil Wars, I had little list or leisure to write, fearing to be made a history, and shifting daily for my safety. All that time I could not live to study, but did only study to live." Yet during this time he projected and in part composed his works—the *Church History* and the *Worthies of England*, the latter, however, not being finished till just before his death.

In 1645 he came back to the Savoy for a time, but his own flock was dispersed by the troubles, and it was said of him, as of his Divine Master, "He came to his own, and his own received him not." The few who remained were overawed by the factions which divided London, and were in daily fear between the Presbyterians and Independents. Yet he preferred a London congregation to any other, for he said, some clergymen wished for a Lincolnshire Church, as best built, and others for a Lancashire parish, as the largest; but he liked a London audience, as consisting of the most intelligent people. He did not stay here long, however. He would not give up the Liturgy, and the penalties for using it, were fixed that very year at £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third. He was, therefore, thrown on his own resources, and his means were very small, and wholly insufficient for the support of himself and the education of his son. Brighter days were in store, and he was allowed to remain unmolested as Vicar of Waltham, and afterwards as Rector of Cranford, until the Restoration, when we find him again at the Savoy.\*

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\* Pp. 186-7.

But, in the meantime, its precincts had been further consecrated to him by a melancholy event. His friend, Lord Montagu, of Boughton, being suspected by the party in power, and arrested, was imprisoned, or rather kept in some kind of restraint, in the Savoy, although a person of "great reverence," as we are told, "and above fourscore years of age;" and after about two years confinement he died here. In Fuller's "Worthies" he is thus spoken of "to have no hands in their death is an outward favour many wicked have, many Godly men want: amongst whom this good Lord who died in restraint at the Savoy, on account of his loyalty to his Sovereign."\*

Fuller's return to the Savoy was marked by such a welcome as few preachers have ever been accorded. His sermons, in which he had formerly endeavoured to preserve peace, now that the war was over, were directed to the mitigation of the cruelties of the party in power. Their influence is mentioned by many of his contemporaries, and among others by Pepys, the diarist. Witty as all his utterances were, they were always within bounds. As one of his biographers says, his wit is all but invariably allied to wisdom, "and very few would rise from the perusal of his pulpit utterances with a feeling that they had been in the company of one who was irreverent or undevout." Craik said of him, in his *History of English Literature*, that "there is probably neither an ill-natured nor a profane witticism in all that Fuller has written." He was strongly of opinion that sermons should be short, and in his account of an ideal "Faithful Minister," he speaks of him as "one

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\* P. 187.

who makes not *that* wearisome which should ever be welcome," adding, in his quaint way, an anecdote of a certain professor, "who, being to expound the prophet Esay to his auditors, read 21 years on the first chapter, and yet finished it not."\*

This biographical notice of Fuller by Mr. Loftie, from which these extracts are taken, incorporated in his "*Memorials of the Savoy*," is necessarily brief, for he had to give notice of the chief of those learned and able ministers who have adorned the Savoy from time to time. In his very graceful Preface,† the present very popular and beloved chaplain of this Royal Chapel in the Strand, and chaplain in ordinary to the Queen—One, who from his gracious courtesy, Christian urbanity, predicatorial talent, and learned culture, is well worthy to sustain the reputation of his great predecessors, and who has made the pulpit of the Savoy once again a potential place and important factor of Church influence in these days of progress, religious earnestness, and metropolitical improvement, the Rev. Henry White says "The Author bids me add that the notices of eminent men only pretend to trace their connection with the Savoy. Complete biographies of such worthies as the Archbishop of Spalato, Archbishop Sheldon,

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\* P. 188.

† "*The Memorials of the Savoy*," by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, B.A., Assistant Chaplain of the Savoy, Author of "*In and Out of London*," and a Preface by the Rev. Henry White, M.A., Chaplain of the Savoy, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. (London : Macmillan, 1878).

Bishop Douglas, and Dr. Thomas Fuller,\* would claim more space than could be spared within the compass of this small volume.”

These memorials of the Royal Palace and Chapel of the Savoy, written by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, assistant chaplain of the Savoy, are (it should be observed) dedicated by special permission to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and form a most interesting historical record of this ancient foundation.

But to return to Fuller’s last connection with the Savoy. He was, to his great contentment, says his anonymous biographer, “invited to his former lecturer’s place at the Savoy.” During Fuller’s absence, he asserts that the parish had “suffered under an insufficient or disloyal and malicious clergy, and therefore stood in need of an able and dutiful Son of the Church, to reduce and lead them in the right way and the old paths. For this people, his ancient flock,” adds he, “the Doctor had always a more especial respect and kindness, which was the rather heightened in him out of a comparison to their state and condition. Nor did he more tenderly affect them than they universally respect him, receiving him (as indeed he was) as an Angel of God sent to minister unto them heavenly things: in exchange whereof they freely gave him their hearts and hands.” †

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\* “Between Bridgwater (1647) and Westwood (1664) should be placed the name of one of the greatest of the many great men who are connected with the history of the Chapel.”—(Loftie’s “In and Out of London,” p. 37.

† Pp. 49, 50.

Fuller preached once more to crowded and overwhelming congregations. It was there he expatiated, no doubt, on his favorite theme. "He was wholly coversant during the broils and dissensions of the Clergy, in the thoughts and consideration of that text, 'Let your *Moderation* be known to all men,' on which place he once preached awhile before His Majesties restitution, to a very great auditory, little imagining the subsequent words 'for the Lord is at hand,' were so near the fulfilling, in the merciful visitations of God, towards these miserable nations."\*

We are indebted to Pepys for many interesting criticisms touching Fuller as a preacher at this time, which are recorded in his inimitable Diary. He used, often it seems, to drop in at the Savoy to hear his old friend and acquaintance preach, for whom he had a sincere admiration. These jottings, for that is what they really are, put our Divine in a favorable contrast to some of the preachers at that time, for whereas many of them were for revenge, Fuller resumed to his former advocacy of Moderation again and again. On many an eve of some disgraceful revenge, Fuller would seem to have foreseen them, and reminded his hearers to "Whom vengeance belongeth." Pepys has a note to the following effect, under date 3rd February, 1660 (Sunday): "This day I first began to go forth in my coate and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. On my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy, upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, showing among other things that we are to go to the law, never to revenge but only to repayre, which I think a good distinction."

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\* "Life," p. 87.

Pepys has another reference to Fuller's preaching, which is the reverse of favourable, but whether the fault was in the preacher or hearer, our readers may judge for themselves. To our mind, the subject-matter may not have commended itself to Pepys rather than the Divine's handling of it, or perhaps the attitude of his own mind was unrelated to such a soul-sifting sermon. This is the entry under date May 12th, 1661, Sunday: "At the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words 'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes' (or rather Job's words 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come,' xiv., 14) but methought it was a poor dry sermon. And I am afraid my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgement." Perhaps the preacher may not have been up to his usual mark, men cannot be always in equally good form, and the state of the hearer's mind has sometimes something to do with his impression, even made by an excellent discourse. When men heard Cicero, they used to say "What a fine orator," but when they heard Demosthenes, "Arise, let us go and fight Philip."

Fuller must have been a good deal connected with the Savoy about this time, yet how could he discharge his parochial duties at Cranford does not seem quite clear. At all events, the impression left on Aubrey's mind, who wrote a short memoir of Fuller, that he not only was officially connected with the Savoy, but that "He died and was buried" there, which he repeats on more than one occasion.

About this time, when Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was master of the Savoy, the assembly called "the Savoy Conference" was

held at the Master's lodging, to discuss the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Immediately on the King's return Dr. Gilbert Sheldon had been restored to his wardenship of All Souls, at Oxford, which he had held before the Commonwealth, and was made Dean of the Chapel Royal. To these offices that of Master of the Savoy was added, and before the end of the year, he became Bishop of London, being consecrated in Henry the Seventh's Chapel on the 28th October. He retained the Savoy for the time at least, and in 1661 the celebrated Savoy Conference was held in his lodgings here.

This was a meeting between the Restored Churchmen and the Presbyterian party, and was called together by a Royal Commission, which summoned twenty-one Divines on each side, among whom were Archbishop Frewen (of York), Bishops Cosin (Durham), Henchman (Salisbury), Morley (Worcester), Sanderson (Lincoln), Walton (Chester), Gauden (Exeter), with Heylin, Pearson, and Sparrow, Thordike, Earle, Hachet, Borwick, Gunning, Pierce, on the side of the Church. Among the Presbyterian Divines summoned, were Reynolds who had just been made Bishop of Norwich, Calamy to whom the Bishopric of Lichfield had been offered, Baxter, who had been offered Hereford, Manton, nominated for the Deanery of Rochester, together with Tuckney, Conant, Spurstow, Wallis, Jackson, Case, Clarke, Newcomen : and for *Coadjutors*, Horton, Jacomb, Bates, Cooper, Collings, Woodbridge, Drake, Rawlinson, and Lightfoot.

The King's Commission charged them, within four calendar months, to meet together at the master's lodgings in the Savoy in the Strand, and there "to take into their serious

and grave consideration the several directions, rules, and forms of Prayer and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult on and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the Churches under our protection and government. But avoiding as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England.”\*

In order to carry out the scheme, there were to be, besides the twelve on either side to be chief Commissioners, selected and nominated by the Crown, nine other assistants, to occupy the place of the others, in case of their not being able to attend all the Sessions. “The Commission,” to quote the summary of Mr. Blunt, “met at the Savoy† in the Strand, on April 15th, and its sittings ended on July 24th, 1661. The Session of Parliament and Convocation commencing on May 8th of the same year, the ‘several objections and exceptions’ raised against the Prayer Book were presented to the Bishops in writing. These are all on

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\* Kennett’s “Register,” p. 399, (quoted by Perry “History of Church of England,” vol. ii. p. 317.)

† “An Historical Introduction to the Prayer Book,” p. xxxix. “Annotated Book of *Common Prayer*,” in which a very complete account of the whole conference may be found.

record in two or three contemporary reports of the Conference, and they are printed at length in Cardwell's *Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*. Many of the exceptions are of a frivolous kind, and the remarks which accompanied them were singularly bitter and uncharitable, as well as diffuse and unbusiness-like. It seems almost incredible that grave Divines should make a great point of 'the Epistle is written in' being an untrue statement of the case when a portion of a prophecy was read and *technically* called an 'Epistle'; or that they should still look upon it as a serious grievance when the alterations conceded went no farther than 'For the Epistle': or again that they should spend their time in writing a complaint about the possibility of their taking cold by reading the Burial Service at the grave. Yet sheets after sheets of thin paper were filled with objections of this kind, and with long bitter criticisms of the principles of the Prayer book. The Bishops replied to them in the tone in which Sanderson's Preface to the Prayer Book is written, but they seem to have keenly felt what Sanderson himself expressed—mild and gentle as he was—when he long afterwards said of his chief opponent at the Savoy, 'that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his conversations.' Perhaps too they were reminded of Lord Bacon's saying respecting his friends, the Nonconformists of an earlier day, 'that they lacked two principal things, the one learning, and the other love.'

"The Conference was limited by the letters patent to four months duration, but when that time had drawn to an end little had been done towards a reconciliation of the objections to the use of the Prayer Book. Baxter had composed a

substitute for it, but even his friends would not accept it as such, and probably Baxter's\* Prayer Book never won its way into any congregation of Dissenters in his lifetime or afterwards. In Queen Elizabeth's time Lord Burleigh had challenged the Dissenters to bring him a Prayer Book made to fit in with their own principles, but when this had been done with one party of Dissenters, another party of them offered six hundred objections to it, which was more than they offered to the old Prayer Book. The same spirit appears to have been shown at the Savoy Conference: and the principle of unity was so entirely confined to unity in opposition, that it was impossible for any solid reconciliation of the Dissenters to the Church, to have been made by any concession that could have been offered."†

Eventually a list was drawn up by the Churchmen of those changes to which they were willing to submit. They are chiefly rather verbal than doctrinal, and are given by Mr. Blunt at length; many, or most of them, being afterwards recommended to Convocation and adopted. But the great Savoy Conference itself terminated in a most inconclusive and unsatisfactory manner. The Commissioners on both sides agreed to report to the King "That the Church's

\* "The former (Baxter) offered, says Southey, on the part of his brethren, a Liturgy which they had authorised him to compile: and represented their exceptions to that of the Church: it is even pitiful to see how captious and bitterly frivolous are the greater part; the very few to which any weight might have been assigned, lost all their force from being mingled with such empty cavillings. And the Conference ended in showing how hopeless it was that anything like union could be effected." Southey's "Book of the Church," p. 517.

† "An Historical Introduction to the Prayer Book," p. 36.

welfare, that unity and peace, and his Majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed ; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony."\* "It may be thought," says Mr. Perry, "that this Conference, held for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, may fairly be considered in the light of an attempt at the comprehension of the Presbyterian party within the Church. A very slight acquaintance, however, with the details of the proceedings at the Savoy, will show that no such character belongs to it. The Savoy Conference was nothing more than a great theological passage of arms, in which the combatants were angry, fierce, determined, watchful, unyielding ; in which neither side proposed to itself the winning over of its opponents, but rather its humiliation, defeat, and disgrace."†

Thus ended the last effort, so to speak, to conciliate what is popularly known as the "Low Church" party of history, and the outcome of this famous Conference was one of unmitigated disappointment. This was the end of that fair promise which had been held forth in the King's Declaration from Breda, that the most conciliatory measures should be pursued to bring both parties together. It had been there said, "Because the passions and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood : we do declare a liberty to tender consciences : and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in

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\* Collier's "Church History," viii. p. 426.

† Perry's "History of the Church of England," vol. ii. p. 317.

question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom: and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence." \* That Charles II. meant these words when he penned them there can be no doubt; nor can we believe that he ever forgot those counselling words contained in that loving letter which Charles I. wrote to him during his incarceration, beginning "If you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me, I do require and entreat you, as your Father and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from, the true Religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world, not only in the community as Christian, but also in the special notion as Reformed: keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastic anarchy." † What Charles II. had said at Breda, he repeated in his celebrated Declaration "to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs," 1660. "In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our Declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of

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\* Quoted in Southey's "Book of the Church," p. 512.

† Quoted in Southey's "Book of the Church," p. 510.

opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom: and if any have been disturbed in that kind since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours." \* "To conclude, and in this place to explain what we mentioned before and said in our letter to the house of Commons from Breda, that 'we hoped, in due time, ourselves to propose somewhat for the propagation of the Protestant religion, that will satisfy the world that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most likely to bring disadvantage to it': we do conjure all our loving subjects to acquiesce in and submit to this our declaration concerning those differences, which have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given such offence to the protestant Churches abroad, and brought such reproach upon the Protestant religion in general from the enemies thereof: as if upon obscure notions of faith and fancy, it did admit the practice of Christian duties and obedience to be discountenanced and suspended, and introduce a license in opinions and manners to the prejudice of the Christian Faith." † This declaration, drawn up originally by Lord Clarendon, had been revised by Bishops Morley and Henchman for the Church, and Reynolds and Calamy for the dissenters, with the Lords Anglesea and Hollis as Referees (Baxter's "Life," p. 151): and there certainly was at this period a strong disposition among the Clergy in favour of moderate measures, occasioned partly by an earnest wish for peace and union, and partly by the circu-

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\* Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," vol. ii. p. 300.

† Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," vol. ii. p. 301

lation of such works as Archbishop Usher's "Reduction of Episcopacy" and Stillingfleet's "Irenicum," that the Royalists in general, and more especially those who had resided on the Continent, were opposed to any deviation from the model of Church Government. Such being the temper of the times, we are not surprised to find that the Savoy Conference, to which this Declaration led up, ended in saddened and ignominious failure.

The whole matter is very pertinently concluded by Dr. Lingard, in his valuable "History of England": "The King had promised that, preparatory to the comprehension of the 'dissenting brethren,' the Book of Common Prayer should be revised by a Commission of Divines from both Communions. They met at the Savoy, the residence of the Bishop of London: previous debates respecting forms and pretensions occupied a considerable portion of time: at length the discussion commenced with written papers, and was subsequently continued in personal conferences. But the Presbyterians demanded so much, and the Bishops were disposed to concede so little, that no progress was made; and when the Commission (it had been limited to the duration of four months) was on the point of expiring, it was amicably agreed to dismiss the minor subjects of controversy, and to confine the discussions to eight passages in the book, which in the apprehension of the dissenters could not be adopted without sin. With this view, the following question was proposed for debate, 'Can a command be sinful, enjoining that which is not in itself unlawful?' After a long and fretful altercation, neither party was convinced, and both joined in a common answer to the King, that they agreed as to the end, but came to no agreement as to the means.

"This was the conclusion which had been expected and desired. Charles had already summoned the Convocation, and to that assembly was assigned the task which had failed in the hands of the Commissioners at the Savoy. Several of the Bishops protested against any alteration ; but they were over-ruled by the majority of their brethren : certain amendments and additions were adopted ; and the Book in its approved form was sanctioned by the King, and sent by him to the house of Lords. The Act of Uniformity followed, by which it was enacted that the revised Book of Common Prayer and of Ordination of Ministers, and no other, should be used in all places of public worship : that all beneficed clergymen should read the service from it within a given time, and at the close profess in a set form of words their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained and prescribed in it."\* Thus the celebrated Act of Uniformity was the ultimate conclusion and final act of the drama, which began with the famous Savoy Conference.

What assistance Dr. Fuller may have rendered to the members assisting at the Conference we are not told, but as he was then acting as Chaplain at the Savoy, we may be quite sure he would have been naturally consulted, having many friends on either side, and if he had been so consulted his counsels would have been full of that *moderation* upon which he loved to descant, and whose merits he so eagerly sought to propagate. Be that as it may, we have seen the end of this Savoy Conference, in which our Author would naturally have taken a very keen interest, and we may readily believe that his loving nature would have been disappointed at the

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\* Lingard's "History of England," vol. ix. p. 15.

results, which he was endeavouring to direct rightly and wisely by his earnest and practical discourses.

There are also several other references in Samuel Pepys' interesting Diary of the period of the Restoration, and subsequently, to our Author, and his famous memory, with whom he seems to have been on terms of great intimacy, and for whom he expresses sincere admiration. Thus he writes under date January 5th, 1660-1 : "The great Tom Fuller came to me to desire a kindness for a friend of his (Peter Beckford, who resided near Cranford), who hath a mind to go to Jamaica, with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do." Again, here is a particularly interesting one : "22nd Jany. 1660-1, I met (at the Mercer's Chapel) with Dr. Thomas Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book (*Worthies*) that is coming out : that is, the History of all the Families in England : and that could tell me more of my owne, than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of Memory, that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon Different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired : and that the best way of beginning a sentence if a man should be out and forget his last sentence (which he never was), that then his last refuge is to begin with an *ut cunque*."

This feat was no doubt done to amuse his friends, but during his latter years, his reputation for a prodigious memory was very great. His antagonist, Dr. Heylin, and the eloquent Dr. South (who used to say that the Bible and Shakespeare had made him the preacher he was) both bear witness to the same fact. The anonymous Biographer makes a great point of this marvellous memory, which he

puts in the very forefront of his “Intellectualls,” and says of it, that Fuller had “a memory of that vast comprehensiveness that he is deservedly known for the first inventor of that noble art, whereof having left behind him no rules, or directions, save only what fell from him in discourse, no further account can be given, but a relation of some very rare experiments of it made by him. He undertook once in passing to and fro from Temple Bar, to the furthest conduit in Cheapside, at his return again to tell every sign as they stood in order, on both sides of the way, repeating them either backward or forward, as they should choose : which he exactly did, not missing or misplacing one, to the admiration of those that heard him.” “He would repeat,” observes Aubrey, “to you forwards and backwards all the signes from Ludgate to Charing Crosse,” and similarly Wanley writes : “He had so great a memory that he could name in order all the signs on both sides of the way from the beginning of Paternoster Row to the bottom of Cheapside to Stocks Market,” (*i.e.* site of present Mansion House).

But it must be remembered that these mnemonic feats were partly due to object-pictures, and we know that what is seen by the eye makes more impression than what falls upon the ear. “*Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt,*” says Seneca,\* and Horace observes,

“*Segnus irritant animos demissa per aurem,  
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*”

We must remember that tradesmen’s houses were not then

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\* Seneca, Ep. vi.

\* “Horace,” Art Poet, p. 180.

numbered as now-adays, and every shop displayed its own peculiar *sign*, with picturesque and striking effect. That their use was very ancient Fuller admits. “Sure I am they were generally used in the reign of Edward IV., witness that dear jest of a well-meaning citizen, who lost his life in those dangerous times for saying he would leave *the Crown* to his son.” And alluding to Stephen Langton’s division of the Bible into chapters, he remarks, “A worthy work, making Scripture more manageable to men’s memories, and the passages therein the sooner to be turned to: as any person is sooner found in the most populous city if methodized into streets and *houses with signs*, to which the figures affixed do fitly allude.”\*

These signs were swung on posts, set on the end of poles, very much after the fashion of barbers’ poles and pawnbrokers’ signs, or depending over the footpath. It seems that Cheapside was particularly remarkable for them. But from their confusion and numbers, together with the danger of falling and scrunching noise, made in swaying to and fro by the action of the wind, they were at last removed by an Act of Parliament, 1762. As an illustration of Fuller’s familiarity with these signs he alludes to them, when he canvasses in his *Church History* the question whether Dunstan having taken the devil by the nose with red-hot tongs, did willingly or unwillingly let him go, he exclaims, “But away with all suspicions and queries: none need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a sign painted in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar.”†

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\* “Worthies of Canterbury,” p. 98.

† Book ii. 129.

Other extraordinary examples of the marvellous grip and potential retentive faculty of Dr. Fuller's memory are alluded to by the same biographer. "The like (repetitions) also would he do in words of different languages, and of hard and difficult probation, to any number whatsoever: but that which was most strange and very rare in him was his way of writing, which (something like the Chinese) was from the top of the page to the bottom, the manner thus: He would write near the margin the first words of every line down to the foot of the paper, then would he (beginning at the head again) fill up every one of these lines, which, without any interlineations or spaces, but with the full and equal length would so adjust the sense and matter, and so aptly connex and conjoin the ends and the beginnings of the said lines, that he could do it better, as he hath said, if he had writ all out in a continuation."\*

It may be that these initial words may have been *key* words, which formed a kind of peg on which to hang ideas, and secure, it may be, some fleeting or transitory thought. "These," says Mr. Kerslake, "must have contained the foundation-stones of his antitheses, parallels, contrasts, surprises, and even the targets of his puns: afterwards worked out by filling in the lines."

Lloyd tells us that our Author was able to repeat 500 strange words after hearing of them, and to make use of any man's exercise or sermon *verbatim*, if he but once saw or heard it.

Mention is also made of Fuller's reputation in a popular work called *The New Help to Discourse*. This dialogue occurs

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\* "Life," p. 77.

in 1669 edition. Q. Who is the most renowned for memory that we have read or heard of? A. In former times *Seneca*, who writes of himself that he was able to recite two thousand words after they were once read unto him, and of late days we find *Mr. Fuller* to be therein most exquisite, who is reputed that he would walk any street in *London*, and by the strength of his memory tell how many and what signs they were hanging in that street, from the one end to the other, according as they were in order. As also if five hundred strange names were read unto him, after the second or third hearing of them he would repeat them distinctly, according as they had been read unto him.”\*

The astonishing feats of Dr. Fuller’s prodigious memory do not appear to have been the outcome of any trick or artifice. There was no memory juggling in it. Undoubtedly he had a very good memory to start with, furnished for the outfit of his life. And his mother-wit had been fostered with care, and disciplined to a potential energy with exercise and learning by heart. Cicero gives this well-known piece of advice to his orator, “*Exercenda est etiam memoria ediscendis* (learning by heart) *quam plurimis scriptis et nobis et alienis.*” Fuller also advises learning over night what should be perfected in the morning—thus knocking the nail in first, and clenching it afterwards. But it is clear that Fuller adopted some rough method of committing to memory, elaborated perchance in the alembic of his own brain. Thus a few years ago we were taught in learning our English history to divide the floor, sides, and ceiling of a room into nine squares each, putting an English

Sovereign's reign, dates, and memorable events in each square (metaphorically speaking) so that when the eye rested on it, that compartment would yield up its own store of information. Fuller was also a very methodical man and believed in "Great Nature's Sergeant—Order." South and others attribute an Art of Memory to him, but he always denied it, and Lloyd credits him with a phrase that the *art* of memory was an art to corrupt the nature of it. Lloyd also tells us "he was master of a good method," which admirably qualified him for the duties of an historian.

Fuller, indeed himself, calls the art of memory only a trick, and when commending William Collett for the methodical way in which he kept the Records of the Tower, he coined that phrase, "Methodus mater memoriae," which was transferred as a super-scription to Loggan's portrait of Fuller, as we have seen, and which we have given.

In his *Church History* (ix. 101) Fuller says, speaking of *Jewell*, that many eminencies met in him, "*naturals, artificials* (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving, as well as *Theodectes* the *Sophister* the surname of *Mnemonicus*). But in his *Appeal* (iii. 61), speaking of *Laud*, he tabulates his *firm Memory* under his "*Intellectuals*." Again, in the case of a certain schismatic, he says "good *natural parts*," made up for learning "especially *memory* (which is *θαυματουργός*), a wonder-working faculty."

This anonymous biographer and eulogist further remarks on our Author's memory: "The treasury of this happy memory was a very great advantage to his preaching; but being assisted with a rich invention and extraordinary reading, did absolutely complete him for the pulpit. His

great stores both of School and Case-Divinity, both of History and Philosophy, of Arts and Tongues, his converse in the Scriptures, the Fathers and Humane Writings, had so abundantly furnished him, that without the other additaments he had been very eminent among his function. Now all so happily met together; such a constellation could portend no less than some wonder of men who should be famous in his generation, not to omit to this purpose (however to the first intention it may seem to the reverend and graver divines a precipitancy and a venturous rashness in any man with such unprovidedness to step into the pulpit), that this venerable Doctor, upon some sudden consequent occasions, upon two hours warning, and upon a subject of his friend's choice, which was knotty and very difficult, hath performed the task enjoined him with much accurateness. Such his Art of Method, besides that his understanding was strangely opened for the unlocking and opening of Scriptures, which he would do very genuinely and evidently, and then embellish his explications with curious variety of expression.”\*

One more reference to Fuller's memory from Pepys may fitly conclude this chapter. In the year 1667 the Diarist once more referred to his acquaintance, which shows that he had not forgotten his old friend, then passed away. Being at the King's Head, Epsom, for the sake of the waters, he says, under date (July 14th, 1667), “*Tom Wilson* (who helped Pepys in writing his diary) came to see me, and sat and talked an hour, and I perceive that he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom) and Dr.

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\* “*Life*,” p. 79.

Pierson (Fuller's great friend through life), and several of the great Cavalier Parsons during the late troubles, and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's Art of Memory, which he did tell me several instances of." This notice, not being properly indexed, seemed to have escaped the notice of Fuller's biographers.

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## CHAPTER XX.

OUR AUTHOR'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH. (1661)

“The death of the godly ought to put life into the godly: the loss of pious men of the former generations ought to enrich such of the age present to succeed in their places, take up their arms, and valiantly acquit themselves in their rooms. Let those therefore who have read over the life of this working man, now gathered to God, summon their strength and unite their forces, according to the distance of their parts and places, to discharge themselves to the glory of God and good of His Church. For it is high time when such Pauls set, for other Timothies to arise.” (*Abel Redevivus: Life of Junius*, p. 449.)

N the early part of theyear 1661 we find Fuller again leaving London for a tour into the west country, and this for a double purpose—to attend to the duties of his Prebendal stall at Sarum, and to visit his old living at Broadwindsor, and the ever-faithful City of Exeter. For now that matters in general, and ecclesiastical affairs in particular, were settling down into their former grooves, the Clergy naturally fell back upon their original preferments. Thus we find our Divine once more securing possession of his Salisbury Prebend, or Canonry, as we were recently informed at the Cathedral, is the appellation, which now covers that office. For the space of twenty years he had been “barred out from” the emoluments of this office, but though gaining no fiscal benefits, he does not scruple to style himself Prebendary of Sarum, in all the title-pages of his voluminous

folios ; and this was a very rich Prebendal Stall as we have seen. " This accessive additional help," says the anonymous biographer, " did very much encourage the Doctor in the carrying on of his book (the ' Worthies '), which, being large, would require an able purse to go through with. And he was very solicitous, often presaging that he should not live to see it finished, though satisfied of his present healthy constitution to have it done out of hand, to which purpose part of the money accruing to him from his Salisbury Prebendariship was designed."\*

But his visit to the West enabled him to look after all the other business connected with his various ecclesiastical appointments, and to see his old Exeter friends. He thus writes in his *Worthies*, anent his visit to Winchester, " When some five years since I visited *Winchester*, it grieved me to the heart to behold that stately structure so far run to ruin. Yea, my thoughts then interpreted those sad schismes and Gaping Chincks, the Heraulds of its Downfall, deeming with myself that I discovered (as Physicians in our Bodies do *cadaverosam*) faciem ruinosam therein. But it rejoiced me when coming here this last year (1661), to find it so well amended by the sovereign medicine of gold or silver, charitably applied by its good Bishop (Brian Duppera, Bishop of Salisbury, confirmed October 4th, 1660, died March 26th, 1662). I wish all Cathedrals in *England*, sick of the same distemper, as quick and happy a recovery."†

At this time, in all probability, he revisited his old benefice of Broadwindsor, Dorset, of which he had been deprived

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\* " Life," p. 50-1.

† " Hants," p. 16.

during the Commonwealth by Sequestration. Fuller found one, John Pinney, a member of some local family, in possession, who had been set over the parish during the troubles, and, on the whole, had done good work.

A characteristic story is told of our Divine's goodness and charity. Coming to take official possession of his living, Fuller heard Pinney preach, and was well satisfied with his ministrations; that seeing their acceptableness to the parishioners, he told them that he would not deprive them of the services of so good a man. But whether Pinney was only Fuller's *locum tenens*, or was inducted into the legal benefice, does not seem quite clear. At all events, he was *acting* Vicar till January, 1662, *i.e.*, the time of the passing the Act of Uniformity, when he was superseded by one Edmund Sly. He could not, it would appear, bring himself to conform, and so fell back into the ranks of dissent. The character of this Divine, of whom Fuller formed such a favourable impression, is thus given by Calamy: "He was much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, a very facetious, yet grave and serious a companion, and an eloquent, charming preacher." Among celebrities who have been Vicars of Broadwindsor, we may mention "brave George Anthony Denison," as he is called, a brother of a late Bishop of Salisbury (Edward Denison, consecrated May, 1837, died March 6th, 1854, and who was superseded by the saintly Walter Kerr Hamilton, whom Keble used to call the most orthodox of modern bishops), and the present erudite and accomplished occupant of the Benefice, Rev. S. E. Malan, the mere recapitulation of whose learned writings fills up more than a column and a half of Crockford's "Clerical Directory."

When our Author was in Dorsetshire it would naturally occur to him to pass into Devonshire and revisit the capital of the West, having got so far down. These West-Country journeys must have been very serious affairs in those days, and even in our time the journey has been the work of several days. But we live in the age of the "Flying Dutchman," and Exeter can now be reached in a little more than four hours. We may then reasonably conclude that Dr. Fuller having got so far West as Broadwindsor, would take the opportunity of proceeding a stage farther on, and get down to Exeter. It must be this visit that he is speaking of in the following passage from his "Worthies," after describing the buildings, *i.e.*, the Cathedral, Rugemont Castle, and the Parish Churches of Exeter, he concludes, "As for Parish-Churches in this City, at my return thither *this year* (1661) I found them fewer than I left them at my departure thence 15 years ago. But the *Demolishers* of them can give the clearest Account, how the *plucking down* of Churches conduceth to the *setting up* of Religion, besides I understand that *thirteen* Churches were exposed to sale by the publick Cryer, and bought by well-affected Persons, who preserved them from destruction."\*

It would appear that Dr. Fuller's connection with the West country had led up to an alliance with the famous Wesley family—the founders of Methodism. The great-grandfather of the founders was one Bartholomew Wesley, the Vicar of that charming and very favourite village of Charmouth, situated in the head of the bay, on

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\* "Worthies.—Exeter," 273.

the sea-coast, near Lyme-Regis, and some six miles from Broadwindsor. He was a preacher of considerable power and fervour, but owing to his plain speaking not too popular with his flock. He studied at Oxford, both Physic and Divinity, says Calamy, and after his ejection practised medicine in that county. Some authorities state that he was nearly the means of capturing the King, when he attempted to escape by sea at Charmouth in 1651, and was lying hid in that neighbourhood. At Lyme-Regis the inhabitants are proud to exhibit a room in a mean hostelry, where he took shelter, with the furniture arranged just as it was. *John Wesley*, son of this Bartholomew Wesley, was the husband of Dr. Fuller's niece. This John was also entered at Oxford and bred to Divinity, and while at the University made the friendship of Dr. Owen, the Vice-Chancellor. He matriculated in 1657, and began to preach at the age of 22, labouring among the seamen along the coast as far as Weymouth. He became Vicar of Winterborne Whitchurch, near Mandford, having satisfied the questions of the Tryers.

Dr. Fuller's sisters may have remained on at Broadwindsor after the Vicar had left, during the troubles, and there in all probability John Wesley met his future wife. Although the name of his wife and the date of their marriage cannot be ascertained, it seems highly probable that she was a daughter of Fuller's elder sister *Elizabeth*, one of their children receiving that name, Elizabeth was aged 28 in 1637. Their eldest child, Timothy, was born at Winterborne Whitchurch, 1659, the next was Elizabeth, 1661, and the third was Samuel, born December, 1662, who was the father of the celebrated John and Charles Wesley. Another

son, Matthew, became a successful physician. Thus Dr. Fuller's sister was the great-grandmother of the two famous Methodists, and thus were blended in the family, so to speak, these two opposing schools of thought, if we may take the Fuller or Davenant branch representing Calvanistic tendencies, and the Wesleys as being Arminian—which battle was fought out so bitterly just one hundred years ago, between Toplady (Vicar of Broadhembury, Devon, and Author of the hymn “Rock of Ages”) and John Wesley. This connection of the Fuller and Wesley families rests on good evidence. Calamy, writing of John Wesley, says “Having married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller,” and this statement is repeated by Dr. Whitehead, in his “Life of Wesley,” 1796. Dr. Adam Clarke, follows him in his *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, 1823. “Mr. Wesley was respectable in his matrimonial connections. He married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller.” But Mr. Russell in his “Memorials” does not seem so certain about it, for he says, “Dr. Adam Clarke in his ‘Memoirs of the Wesley Family’ has recorded that John Wesley’s grandfather, Wesley of Whitechurch, married the niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller: but it may be questioned whether sufficient proof of this statement is adduced by the relator.”\*

This John Wesley seems to have got into some trouble at the time of the Restoration about certain scruples touching the Oath of Allegiance and the Royal Supremacy. Complaints were made to the Bishop by some influential residents in the County, that Wesley would not use the Liturgy, and casting some doubts as to the validity of his

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\* Russell's “Memorials,” p. 311.

claims to the Vicarage, and he was sent for by the Bishop when the following interview took place. After discussing Wesley's title to the Vicarage, the Bishop said, "I question not your gifts Mr. Wesley, I will do you any good we can: but you will not long be suffered to preach, unless you do it according to order." Wesley justified his preaching, declaring that he thought "the old Nonconformists were none of His Majesty's enemies: The conversation ended thus: *Bishop.* You will stand to your principles, you say? *Wesley.* I intend it through the grace of God, and to be faithful to the King's Majesty, however you deal with me. *Bishop.* I will not meddle with you. *Wesley.* Farewell to you, Sir. *Bishop.* Farewell, good Mr. Wesley." And the Bishop kept his promise and refrained from molesting him further. This prelate was Gilbert Ironside, who was one of Fuller's Associates in the Convocation of 1640, and was still when he wrote his "Appeal" (1659) "his worthy friend" ("Appeal," Pt. ii. 81). "May we not see," very pertinently asks Mr. Bailey, who differs in this respect from Mr. Russell—in his conduct towards a connection of Fuller's family—"the influence of Fuller himself?" \*

John Wesley was subsequently, in spite of this, ejected from his living, finally settled in Weymouth, and died about 1670. Fuller's niece survived her husband for many years. Her son Samuel made her an annual allowance, and she was visited by one of her grandchildren in 1710, when she was a widow of almost 48 years. The place of her death is not known.

The "last felicity" of our Author, Dr. Fuller, was to be

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\* Bailey's "Life," p. 683

made “Chaplain in Extraordinary to the King,” on which occasion an arrangement was made for him to preach before the Court. The composition of this, his first endeavour before his Majesty, was the last of his literary productions, but the sermon was never delivered. His biographer remarks that the King’s “most judicious and exact observation” would have happily suited the “remarks of the Doctor’s learned preaching.”\* Before the day appointed for its delivery, the preacher had left the pulpit for ever. A greater king had summoned him, and that summons every mortal man must obey, as an old Greek play has said *πᾶσιν βρότοισι κατθάνειν ὀφείλεται*.

But we are anticipating. We have seen how the high places and dignities in the Church were filled at the Restoration by the more thorough-going and persistent applicants for ecclesiastical preferment, but in spite of the efforts of the more pushing spirits and the advocacy of their friends, we are told that Dr. Fuller was “in a well grounded expectation of some present further advancement.” This remark refers to his elevation to the Episcopate, for it is generally understood, and there seems every reason to believe the report, and that he would have been raised to the see of Exeter or Worcester (most probably the former) had he lived a few months longer. The former, first bestowed after the Restoration, as we have seen, on Dr. John Gauden, consecrated November 18th, 1660, but he was translated to Worcester 1661, and he was succeeded by Dr. Seth Ward, consecrated July 20th, 1662. Dr. Gauden was translated from Exeter, and was not confirmed till June 10th, 1662. The See of

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\* “Life,” p. 103.

Worcester had been filled by Dr. George Morley, consecrated October 28th, 1660, who was translated to Winchester, 1662. This proposed ecclesiastical promotion of Dr. Fuller was warmly urged by Lord Berkeley, the Queen-Mother, and the Princess Henrietta (whose tutor Dr. Fuller had been at Exeter), and whose visit to England happened to take place about that time. Dr. Fuller's claims were also warmly pressed on the attention of the King (and all he knew of our Divine would enlist his sympathies on his behalf) by his powerful patrons and well-placed friends. The King would not be unmindful of his former connection with the Royal family at the siege of Exeter, nor forget his good offices as military chaplain to one of Charles I. favourite generals (Lord Hopton), nor his presence at Breda at a critical time. Besides his powers as a popular London preacher and Author, and his success as a parish priest were well known to Royalty, as well as his devotion to the good cause of Church and State. Everything was indeed in his favour, including a fine personal appearance, good social manners, and a winsome graceful deportment. "Who among Jeremy Taylor's contemporaries," says the Rev. Robert Aris Willmott, "could prefer an equal claim ! Hall the imaginative and devout, and Ussher the sagacious and learned, in the same year were called to their crown, without beholding the faintest dawn of the renovation of that Church which they defended by their talents and beautified by their lives. Hammond and Fuller enjoyed a clearer prospect, they perished in the hour of victory, henceforward to be numbered with the chosen worthies of England."\*

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\* Willmott's "Life of Jeremy Taylor," p. 196.

The selection of the See of Exeter must have been most gratifying to Dr. Fuller personally ; everything points to his great liking for the place itself and the people ; then there was his former connection with the metropolis of the West at the Siege of Exeter, his official correlation with the Court as guardian or tutor to Charles I. young daughter Henrietta, who was born there, and his old position as City Lecturer, full of old memories and kind courtesies, all this would naturally attract him to Exeter ; and the fact that the Princess Henrietta had a good deal to say to the probable appointment that she had been formerly connected with the City, and that the bishopric of Exeter was mentioned in this connection is a convincing proof in itself that the promotion was discussed, and fully intended for our Divine. Touching this preferment the biographer observes : " It will make it less wonder that a man of so great merit, and such conspicuous worth should never arrive to any eminent honour, and dignity, or Church revenue, save that of Prebend of Salisbury, being also of competent age to become the gravity of such preferments ; for he could not afford to seek great matters for himself, who designed his all for the public good and concerns of his precious soul. Questionless he could not have wanted friends to his advancement, if he would have pursued such ends, who would have been as great furtherers of himself out of a particular affection (which is always ambitious of laying such obligations upon virtue) to his person, as they had assisted him in his works and labours. He was reward and recompense enough to himself, and for his fame and glory, certainly he computed it the best way : 'tis the jewel that graces the ring, not so contrary. High places are levelled in death

and crumble into dust, leaving no impression of those that possessed them, and are only retrievable to posterity by some excellent portraits of their nobler part: wherein it will on all hands be confessed, the Doctor hath absolutely drawn himself beyond the excellentest counterfeit of art, and which shall outlive all addition of monument, and out-flourish the pomp of the lasting'st sepulchral glory.

“But had the worthy Doctor but some longer while survived to the fruition of that quiet and settlement of the Church, of which by God’s goodness and favour we have so full a prospect (this was in the year 1661), and that the crowd of suitors for ecclesiastical promotion had left thronging and importuning their great friends, to the stifling and smothering of modest merit, it may be presumed the royal bounty would favourably have reflected on, and respected that worth of the Doctor (which was so little set by and regarded of himself in his contented obscurity) by a convenient placing and raising of that light to some higher orb, from whence he should have dilated and dispensed his salutiferous rays and influences.”\*

Dr. Fuller again went to Salisbury towards the end of the summer 1661, “to settle and let his revenue as Prebend of that Deanery,” and to arrange other fiscal matters in connection with it. The time seems to have been very sickly, and there was a general epidemic of a distemper, which was vaguely called “feverish ague,” the disease of which our Doctor died.

The anonymous biographer has a most minute description of Dr. Fuller’s last days, for such they proved to be.

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\* Pages 101-3.

He avers that our Author brought this “new disease” back with him to town from the country, and he offers as proof that Dr. Nicholas, the reverend Dean of St. Paul, died of the same disease, about the same time, coming from the same part of the country. Be that as it may, Dr. Fuller was attacked by this so-called agueish disorder a short time after his arrival in London. The disease began to make its appearance about Sunday the 12th August, and it would seem that he had to preach a sermon (at the Chapel of St. Mary, the Savoy) for a kinsman of his who was going to be married that week—on Monday. It was customary then to preach wedding Sermons (as well as funeral sermons) on the Sunday before the wedding, and the Doctor was very anxious to oblige this kinsman, so he lovingly undertook it—a good custom, which Mr. Loftie tells us, “still obtains at the Savoy.”

During the dinner, which was early, he began to feel very indisposed, and complained of much dizziness in the head. His son John, who was present, persuaded him to go and lie down on the bed, and entreated him to forbear preaching that afternoon, pointing out the dangerous nature of the symptoms. But the Doctor would not be persuaded, but to Church he would go, and perform his promise to his friend ; saying, “ He had gone up often into the pulpit sick, but always came down well again, and he hoped he should do as well now, through God’s strengthening grace.”

When the Preacher had got into the pulpit, he found himself very ill, and at last became apprehensive of his own danger, and therefore before his prayer addressed himself thus to his congregation, “ I find myself very ill, but I am resolved by the grace of God to preach the sermon to you

here, though it be my last," a sad presage, more sadly verified by the sequel. He proceeded with his prayer, and got well into the sermon quite to the middle (never using himself to notes, other than the beginning word of each head or division). Then he began to falter, but quickly recollecting himself, he very pertinently concluded. He sat down for a while, but was not able to rise again, and he had to be led down the pulpit stairs into the reading desk. He had also promised to baptise the child of a very dear friend of his at the same service, and he was much importuned by his friend then in the Church to perform the ceremony. But his son John again intervened (for Fuller was full of good nature to the last and "was as willing as he was deserving") on account of the extreme danger his father was in, and the request was not pressed. The Christening therefore was postponed, and another minister of the Savoy must have taken it, for the fever had now laid hold of the doctor.

"Much ado there was to persuade the Doctor to go home in a *Sedan*," but thinking he should be better presently, he would not go along with them. At last finding himself getting worse and worse, he yielded to go, but not to his old lodgings, (which were convenient for him in the Savoy) but his new one in Covent Garden. Here he was put to bed, and Dr. Scarborough, Fuller's "worthy friend," and one of his own parishioners was sent for to attend him, but the Doctor (Scarborough) being in the country, Doctor Charlton, a Royal Physician and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons was sent for "who with the greatest skill and care possible, address himself to the recovery of the good Doctor. Doctor Charlton having made his diagnosis, pronounced that Dr. Fuller was suffering from a violent malignant fever,

such as then raged everywhere, and was better known as the name of *the new disease*, which like a plague had swept away a multitude of people throughout the kingdom." Pepys alludes to the epidemic under date August 16th. "It is such a sickly time both in the city and country everywhere (of a sort of fever) that never was heard of almost, unless it was in plague time."

According to the usual treatment in those days blood-letting was resorted to, "and yet nevertheless," the biographer continues, "the paroxysms continued, having totally bereft the Doctor of all sense," so that he could not explain his own symptoms and no other remedy was suggested, "the physician's art being at a loss, and not able to advise any further against the insuperable violence and force of the distemper."\*

" Yet in this sad and oppressed condition some comfortable signs and assurances were given by the good Doctor, by his frequent lifting up his hands and his eyes, which devotion ended in the folding of his arms, and sighs fetcht questionless from a perfect contrition for this life, and from an earnest desire after the hope of that to come."

On Tuesday it was found that he was much worse, and under the full influence of this fever, so that Dr. Charlton despaired of his recovery, all remedies proved unavailing and from the first our Author lost his faculties. And now the ruling passion was seen strong in death, for Dr. Fuller in his occasional talk spoke of nothing more frequently than *his books*, calling for pen and ink, and telling his sorrowing attendants that by and by he should be well, and would

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\* Pp. 55-8.

write it out, &c., "in short he died," as one observed, "crying out for his pen and ink to the last."

On the following Wednesday he was much worse, and by noon "the presages of a dislodging soul were apparent in him." But it pleased God to restore him to his faculties, as his strength abated, "which he very devoutly and piously employed in a Christian preparation for death." The dying couch was surrounded by many of his friends and reverend brethren, whose prayers on his behalf he earnestly solicited. They prayed for him, "the good Doctor, with all the intentness of piety, joining with them and recommending himself, with all humble thankfulness and submission to God's welcome providence." Furthermore, it is added that "so highly was he affected with God's pleasure concerning him, that he could not endure any person to weep or cry, but would earnestly desire them to refrain, highly extolling and preferring his condition, as a translation to a happy eternity. Nor would he, therefore, endure to hear anything of the world or worldly matters. For the settling and disposition whereof he had before made no provision, and was desired by some to give some present direction for the better accommodating the several concerns of his family, but the Doctor totally rejected any thoughts of those matters, having his mind engaged and prepossessed with things of ravishing and transcendent excellencies. Even his beloved book aforesaid, the darling of his soul, was totally neglected, not a syllable dropping from him in reference to the perfecting and finishing thereof, which he had now brought so near to the birth. Nothing but Heaven and the perfections thereof, the consummation of grace in glory, must fill up the room of his capacious soul,

which now was flitting and ready to take wing to those mansions of bliss.”\*

His thoughts were all engaged on the world to which he was fast hastening. No regret for the career which had so lately been re-opened to him : no sorrow for the loss of the Bishopric to which he was already designated : nothing but love to those around him, and hope of the Heaven before him.

One more night he lingered. The next day (Thursday) was the last hour Divine spent on earth, and in the morning he passed away “to the irreparable loss and very exceeding sorrow of all men to whom religion, piety, virtue, and super-eminent learning were ever acceptable.” His pious and faithful soul passed into “the hands of his Redeemer to his own everlasting Fruition and Consolation.” His sufferings were now at an end, and he entered into his rest. He died the 16th August, in the 54th year of his age.

The last view of the “Faithful Minister” thus represents him as “assuming, in place of the lawn of the prelate, the shining raiment exceeding as white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white it ; ‘a whiteness,’ to use Bishop Hacket’s words, ‘mixed with no shadow : a light dimmed with no darkness.’” May we add, “God rest his soul ! he was a merry man !”

Dr. Fuller’s biographer tells us that after he had laid a while dead, an eruption of blood burst from his temples, “which was conjectured to have long settled there, through too much study and methodising and completing those various pieces in his *Worthies General*, of which he was

prophetically afraid he should never live to see the finishing.”\*

It is supposed by competent authorities, that the disease our Author died of was *typhus fever*, or putrid brain fever, and that the treatment was as bad as could be well imagined, and the very opposite to that which obtains in the present day. Instead of reducing the strength of the patient, stimulants would have been prescribed, and a valuable life, in all probability, spared; but it has been truly observed, “The lancet kills more than the lance,” and the good Doctor was another illustration of the truth of the remark.

There are many passages scattered up and down Fuller’s writings in contemplation of his death, his views of which were “verified and accomplished in his most immature and sudden decease.” This was one of his prayers in 1645: “Teach me the art of patience while I am well, and give me the use of it when I am sick. In that day, either lighten my burthen or strengthen my back. Make me, who so often in my health have discovered my weakness, presuming, on my own strength, to be strong in my sickness, when I solely rely on Thy assistance.” Referring to the weekly bills of mortality in London (an average of 200 and upwards in 1647), he moralises thus: “Must my shot be called for to make up the reckoning? I am, therefore, concerned seriously to provide lest that death’s prize prove not my blank.” And, speculating on the possible disease which would one day carry him off, “Now please me; may I not be curious to know what weapon shall wound me, as

careful to provide the plaster of patience against it."

Our Author was not buried at the Savoy, as some have remarked, thinking that because he died there he was interred at that same place. But his funeral was undertaken at the expense, and by desire of his kind and gracious patron, Lord Berkeley, who had the honoured remains taken down to Cranford Parish Church (of which he was Rector), and the funeral cortège was attended thither by upwards of two hundred of the London Clergy, his brethren in the Ministry. "Such a solemn assembly," says the biographer, was "scarce to be paralleled." The body was interred in the small chancel of the Parish Church, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Anglican Church, his "dear mother," as he used to call her.

Thus was fulfilled Fuller's pious and natural wish that he might die in the doctrine and discipline of the Church in which he had been born and bred, like the rest of his family, who were staunch to the Church, as they were loyal to the Throne.

The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Nathanael Hardy, Dean of Rochester, and Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, a man quite after Dr. Fuller's heart and mind. This Dr. Hardy was a Londoner, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1632, and removed thence to Hart Hall, "which foundation, as old as the reign of Edward I., was afterwards called Stapledon Hall, from Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, into whose hands it came in the succeeding reign: but when his scholars were transplanted to the present site of Exeter College, its original name was restored, and continued till it was merged in Hertford College, 1740;

which corporation became extinct in 1805, part of the old buildings being now included in Magdalen Hall. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1638, and the following year was ordained priest. He preached for some years at the Church of St. Dionis Back Church, and was the author of numerous sermons, the titles of which may be seen in *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*. His principal works are two series of *lectures on the First Epistle of St. John*, the first part published in quarto in 1656, the second in 1659.\*

He was a person of some learning and eloquence, and during the Commonwealth was allowed to preach sermons on the Royal Martyrdom, on which occasion he had collections for the poor sequestered clergy. He went over to the Hague, being one of the ministers deputed to attend the Commissioners of the City of London. At the Restoration he was made D.D., Archdeacon of Lewes, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and in 1660 Dean of Rochester. He died at Croydon 1670, and was buried at St. Martin's, his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Patrick (afterwards Bishop of Ely).

Dr. Hardy's Funeral discourse was said to have been "a very elegant and extraordinary pathetic deporation of so great a loss," and he seems to have bestowed every praise and commendation on his friend, and "excellently well" transmitted him to his everlasting rest. A hope was expressed that this funeral sermon might be published, but it does not appear to have been brought out, and Oldys

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\* Russell's "Memorials," p. 298.

has to confess, who wished to consult it in writing Fuller's life, "but whether printed I know not."

It seems inexplicable that this sermon should not have been published, as so many of Dr. Hardy's (who was a popular preacher) were published and collected in the quarto volume before alluded to, more especially as the anonymous Life of our popular Divine and Author rapidly ran through at least two editions.

The date of Dr. Fuller's funeral is seen from the following entry in the Burial register of Cranford Parish Church. "Tho. Fuller, D.D., his Majestie's Chaplain, Prebend of Salisbury, and Minister of this Parish of Cranford was buried in the Chancell August 17, 1661." The remains of Dr. Fuller's loving wife were brought up for burial near her husband eighteen years afterwards. "Mary Fuller (the widow of Thomas Fuller, sometime Rector of this Church) dying at Endfield (Middlesex) was buried May the 19th, 1679."

Shortly after his death a mural tablet was placed on the north side of the Chancel of Cranford Church (no doubt by his constant and kind patron, Lord Berkeley). It consists of a small oval slate slab, surrounded by an emblematic border in white marble.

The following sketch, which has been made on the spot, will give a good representation of the tablet in question. It will be remembered that when he was asked to make an epitaph for himself, it is said that he humbly replied, "Let it be, 'Here lies Fuller's earth.'" This epitaph does not appear on the mural tablet, but a much longer one, which though it is not quite what he would have liked, judging from his *Essay on Tombs*, still contains a quaint conceit not unworthy the pen of our Author—he spent his life

making others immortal, and thereby attained immortality himself :—

Hic jacet

THOMAS FULLER,

Collegio Sydneiano in Acad. Cantab.

S. S. T. D.

Hujus Ecclesiæ Rector

Ingenii acumine Memoriæ fælicitate

Morum probitate. Omnigena doctrina

(Historicâ præsertim)

Uti varia ejus summâ æquanimitate composita

testantur Monumenta

CELEBERRIMUS.

Qui dum viros Angliæ illustres opere Posthumo

Immortalitati consecrare meditatus est

Ipse immortalite est consequutus

August 16, 1661.

Echard has a very fair estimate of Dr. Fuller's character, who remarks that "by his particular temper and management he weathered the great Storm with more Success than many other great men. He was a general scholar, an extensive Historian, and a Walking Library, and had a prodigious

memory, a most quick wit, and a luxuriant Fancy and Invention, but not the most exact judgment. He published many Pieces, but was most of all distinguished by that laborious, but imperfect work, *The History of the Worthies of England.*" \*

After Dr. Fuller's death, James Heath, who had made a chronicle of the Civil War, and a life of "the late usurper" (Cromwell), wrote an Elegy in his memory—a poem which accentuates the popularity of Fuller and his various works. It is extremely rare, but a copy is to be found in the Bodleian Library ; and as it may interest our readers, we will give it *in extenso* :

An Elegie upon  
DR. THO. FULLER,  
That most incomparable Writer, who deceased August 16th,  
MDCLXI.

Room for a *Saint*, set open Heaven's gate !  
Here comes the Author of the *Holy State*.  
See with what Train and Troops he now ascends  
Of Blest acquaintance, and Celestial Friends !

Blest Ones, he comes to make your numbers more ;  
His *Life* did much, his *Death* improves your store :  
Such modest merits crav'd not for a seat,  
Bliss covets to be *Fuller* and compleat.  
A Cherub's wing hath soar'd him to this Hight,  
And Heaven is now instead of *Pisgah-Sight* :  
His *Holy War* but now is finished,  
When the reward of Glory crowns his Head :  
Each *Tract* (like *Jacob's Ladder*) still did rise,  
Directed souls, and fixt them in the Skies :  
There are his books transcribed and compriz'd  
Within the *Book of Life* Epitomiz'd.

And if th' *Herculean Labours* found a place  
Assign'd in Heaven by the Gods, then Grace  
So well employ'd and exercis'd here

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\* " *Hist. Eng.*," iii. 71.

Will shine far brighter in its Glories sphere.

The kinder *Parcæ* yet forbore the Thred  
Of that *Invincible* : till Vice was dead ;  
And he had quell'd the Monsters, and supprest  
All growing Ills, and set the World at rest.  
But this our *Hercules* was snatch't from hence  
I th' middle of his Work, while in defence  
Of squalid Vertue through Injurious age  
'Gainst monstrous Antiques he a *War* did wage ;  
Broke off its *Adamantine* bonds of Sleep,  
The dusty marbles could their guests not keep,  
Had rouz'd our World again, and Truth appears  
Like Stol'n goods, by jarring of the years.

Prodigious Luxury of cruel *Death*  
To stifle thousands through his loss of Breath !  
Who shall redeem our Worthies from the grave  
When he is gone, who them alone could save ?  
Oft have we strain'd *Caligula's* wish, to make  
Death odious for some great and good man's sake,  
But here how truly sad it fits our Turn  
When Fate is *multipliyd* in Fuller's Urn.

Take then the triumph of his Noble Pen  
To tell the World the Learned'st are but men ;  
And that the *rescue* of their worth from time  
Death in his Fate hath made a Cap'tal crime.

But know, Illustrious Soul, that we do see  
Those higher Reasons which transported thee  
From the black Art of Dark *Antiquity*  
To th' speculation of *Eternity* :  
Let the Beatitudes there fill thy Mind  
While We'r content with what thou leav'st behind ;  
And if forgetful be, or sparing Fame,  
Thy Art of Memory shall Preserve thy Name.

London : Printed MDCLXI.      *Sic mæret* JAMES HEATH.

The anonymous writer and friendly eulogist to whom we are indebted for the account of Dr. Fuller's last sickness and death, has summed up the main particulars of his manner of life with a simplicity and minuteness not to be looked for in more modern compositions.

We have already alluded to his fine commanding personal appearance, and drawn attention to the fine portrait of Dr. Fuller by *Loggan*, in the *Worthies of England*. He was of more than ordinary stature, but in no way inclining to corpulence; of a sanguine constitution and somewhat ruddy aspect, with a pleasant but composed and serious expression of countenance. His hair was naturally given to curl, and was a light colour, and worn of a moderate length, beseeming his profession.

His gait was very upright and graceful. He was in dress negligent almost to a fault; his manners were simple and unstudied; but there was in him a natural courteousness that showed he affected not singularity, or to appear absent when he sometimes was so. His conversation was exceedingly attractive, and this every reader of his ingenious writings would easily conceive, for it is no vain eulogy that his biographer gives his memory when he describes him as “a perfect walking library,” and it is plain that he was as well versed in the study of mankind as in the study of books.

“He was a perfect walking library,”\* says his eulogist, “those that find delight in him must turn him: he was to be diverted from his present purpose with some urgency: and when once unfixed and unbent, his mind freed from the incumbency of his study, no man could be more agreeable

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\* John Quarles, 1592-1664 (a very scarce author and a contemporary of George Herbert’s), in his “Elegy,” says of Usher:

“He was a *living Library*, in whom  
A man might read things past and things to come.”

And Vernon says of Heylin that he “was a living library” (as Euscapius said of Longinus), a “locomotive study.”

to civil and serious mirth, which limits his most heightened fancy never transgressed.”\*

When we find our Divine restricted himself to two meals a day, we cannot understand how South could have called Fuller a dinner-hunter, for he was very sparing and temperate. “He was no lover of dainties,” as his friend observes, “or the inventions of cookery, solid meats better befitting his strength and constitution; but from drink very much abstemious, which, questionless, was the cause of that uninterrupted health he enjoyed till this his first† and last sickness, of which felicity he was partly the cause of by his exactness in eating and drinking. So did he the more dread the sudden infliction of any disease, or other violence of nature, fearing thus his care might amount to a presumption in the eyes of the great Disposer of all things, and so it pleased God it should happen.”

We discover the taste of his palate in his partiality for eels, in speaking of the “Natural Commodities” of Cambridgeshire, which allusion, of course, refers to his knowledge of the Isle of Ely, “which, though they may be found in all shires in *England*, yet are most properly treated of here, as *most, first, and best*, the *Courts* of the *Kings* of England being thence therewith anciently supplied; and will not engage in the controversy whether they be bred by *generation* as other *fish*, or *equivocally* out of putrefaction, or both

\* “Life,” p. 69.

† Mr. Russell observes: “Here our author is mistaken. He was recovered more than once from danger by means of his benevolent and pious friend, Dr. Hamey.”—“Memorials,” p. 301.

† “Life,” p. 70.

ways, which is most probable : Seeing some have ventured to know the distinguishing marks betwixt the one and the other. I know the *Silver Eels* are generally preferred, and I could wish *they loved men* but as well as *men love them*, that *I myself* might be comprised within the compass of that desire. They are observed to be never out of season (whilst other fishes have their set times), and the biggest *Eels* are ever esteemed the best. I know not whether the *Italian Proverb* be here worth the remembering, *Give Eels without wine to your Enemies.*"\*

Fuller was no smoker, but he does not condemn the practice. "As for the praise of *Tobacco*," he says in the "Natural Commodities of Gloucestershire," which grew there, "with the vertues thereof, they may better be performed by Pens of such Writers whose pallates have tasted of the same."†

But he practised as much moderation in his sleep as his diet, and he took but little exercise, but as being compelled by friendly and forcible invitations. His favourite pastime seems to have been riding, and for this he had frequent and pleasant opportunities. His moderation of sleep is remarkable. "Strange it was that one of such a fleshy and sanguine composition could overwatch so many heavy propense inclinations to rest. For this in some sort he was beholden to his care in diet aforesaid (the full vapours of a repletion in the stomach ascending to the brain, causing that usual drowsiness we see in many), but most especially to his continued custom, use and practice, which had so subdued

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\* "Cambridgshire," p. 143.

† "Gloucestershire," p. 349.

his nature, that it was wholly governed by his active and industrious mind.”\*

“ And yet this is a further wonder: He did scarcely allow himself, from the first degree in the University, any recreation or easy exercise ; no, not so much as walking but very rare and seldom, and that not upon his own choice, but as being compelled by friendly, yet forcible invitations, till such time as the war posted him from place to place, and after that his constant attendance on the press in the editions of his books, when it was a question which went the fastest, his head or his feet, so that in effect he was a very stranger, if not an enemy, to all pleasure. Riding was most pleasant, because his necessary convenience, the doctor’s occasions, especially his last work, requiring travel to which he had so accustomed himself, so that this diversion (like Princes’ banquets, only to be lookt upon by them, not tasted of) was rather made such than enjoyed by him. So that if there was any felicity or delight which he can be truly said to have had, it was either in his relations or his works.”†

He was certainly devoted to literature, and in the making of books he had the keenest delight, “ totally abandoning and forsaking all things to follow them. And yet if correction and severity (so this may be allowed the gravity of the subject) be also the sign of love, a stricter or more careful hand was never used. True it is, they did not grow up without some errors, like the tares ; nor can the most refined pieces of any of his antagonists boast of perfection.

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\* “Life,” p. 71.

† “Life,” p. 72.

He that goes an unknown and beaten track in a dubious way, though he may have good directions, yet if in the journey he chances to stray, cannot well be blamed ; yet they have perchance ploughed with his heifer, and been beholden to those authorities for their excrescences, which he first gave light to.”\* But our Author did not pump from an empty well, for Dr. Fuller was a great reader, “ devouring all the books he read, and digesting them to easy nutriment.” This constant study no doubt tried his sight very much, especially owing to his antiquarian pursuits, he was compelled to investigate old manuscripts, and so he had to confess in his later years that his eyes were none of the best.

In a moral and spiritual point of view, Fuller’s character is one that elicits universal admiration, and is most attractive. In all the relationships of life, as a son, husband and father, neighbour and friend : socially and domestically, he was an inspiring model : and this side of this versatile genius the eulogist delights to honour. The generous and kind spirit—and Fuller had always a ready fund of good nature—will not suffer us to doubt that he was, as his biographer says of him, tender and faithful in his conjugal and parental attachments. Towards the education of his children he was exceedingly careful, allowing them whatever could conduce to that end beyond the present measure of his estate.† To his neighbours and friends he behaved himself with such cheerfulness, and plainness of affection and respect, as deservedly gained him their highest esteem. From the meanest to the highest he omitted nothing that belonged to

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\* “Life,” p. 74

† “Life” p. 73.

his state of life, either in a familiar correspondency or necessary visits : never waiting for entreaties of that which either was his duty, or in his power to perform. In a word, to his superiors he was dutifully respectful without ceremony or officiousness : to his equals he was discreetly respectful, and to his inferiors (whom indeed Christianly he judged none to be) civilly respectful, without pride or disdain.\*

Of his incomparable memory we have spoken in the previous chapter. “For his ordinary manner of teaching it was in some kind different to the usual method of most ministers in those times, for he seldom made any excursions into the handling of commonplaces, or drew his subject matter out at length, by any prolixly continued discourse ; the main frame of his public sermons, if not wholly, consisted (after some brief and genuine resolution of the context, and explication of the terms, where need required) of notes and observations, with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the text, and naturally, without constraint, arising out of the main body, or the several parts of it, with some useful application annexed thereto.”†

“A constant form of prayer he used, as in his family, so in his public ministry : only varying or adding upon special occasions, because not only hesitation (which the good Doctor, for all his strength of memory and invention was afraid of before so awful a presence as the Majesty of Heaven) was in prayer more offensive than any other discourse : but because such excursions in that duty, in

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\* “Life,” p. 75.

† “Life” p. 76.

the extempore way, were become the idol of the multitude."

He avoided the extremes, so various and so fatal, in his times. He was zealous for the due observation of the Lord's Day, yet not of the extremists on that point, as Heylin falsely charged him. "For his own particular, very few Sundays there were in the year, in which he did not preach twice, besides the duties performed in his own house, or in his attendance on those noble persons to whom successively he was Chaplain."\*

In the high topics of predestination, he adhered to the doctrines in which he was brought up, the doctrines taught in his youth, at the University of Cambridge by his uncle Davenant (who was President of Queens' and Margaret Professor of Theology), a man in whom piety and sound learning were united, and to a degree perhaps rarely excelled. For he moved not with the times, but pursued his upright and even path, as before God, and not to please men.

He valued episcopacy and the liturgy, and that equally with the Clergy who preceded Laud, as Andrewes, Downame, Whitgift, Fulke, Ridley, and our English Reformers. He suffered for his loyalty, and when the episcopal form of the Church was suppressed, whilst he still served God and his country in the way in which it was then permitted him, he feared not to avow his predilection to the more ancient order and discipline then thrown down." †

"His religion," concludes Mr. Russell, "appears to have been of the practical kind. This appears to have decided the character of his discourses, which are never merely

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\* "Life" p. 100.

† "Triple Reconciler."

controversial : not confined to a few topics, and those the most popular with such as resolve their religion into reading and hearing. Whilst moderation was his profession, he appears to have adhered inflexibly to the theology of his early days, not changing for fashion's sake, contented with that in which he had been brought up : not, however, simply because it was the form in which his faith was familiarized to him, but because it came with this recommendation, that those who had received it were as dear to him by their personal piety, as they were estimable for their learning and experience.”\*

Irrespective of his social and domestic surroundings and his intellectual verve-power, we have in this biography set before us a true model of a Churchman and Clergyman, in his public and official related attitudes, very needful for the age in which we live—a man of moderation—one who had grasped the true *via-media* of the Anglican Church, as opposed to Rome on the one hand and Geneva on the other—one who saw good in all parties, who assimilated in his own person the positive, as contradistinguished from the negative, teaching of the two great historical parties in the National Church, whose doctrinal platform was Scriptural and Primitive, and therefore truly Catholic, who preferred the “old paths” to the new lights, and who understood and embraced Catholic Christianity, not as a system principally external, or chiefly speculative, but as faith that worketh by love : who, lastly, had an undying enthusiasm for the Church of the Living God as a Divine Organism, the pillar and ground of the truth, a living Body with a living Head.

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\* “Memorials” p. 304.

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